

Dr. K.B. KRISHNA

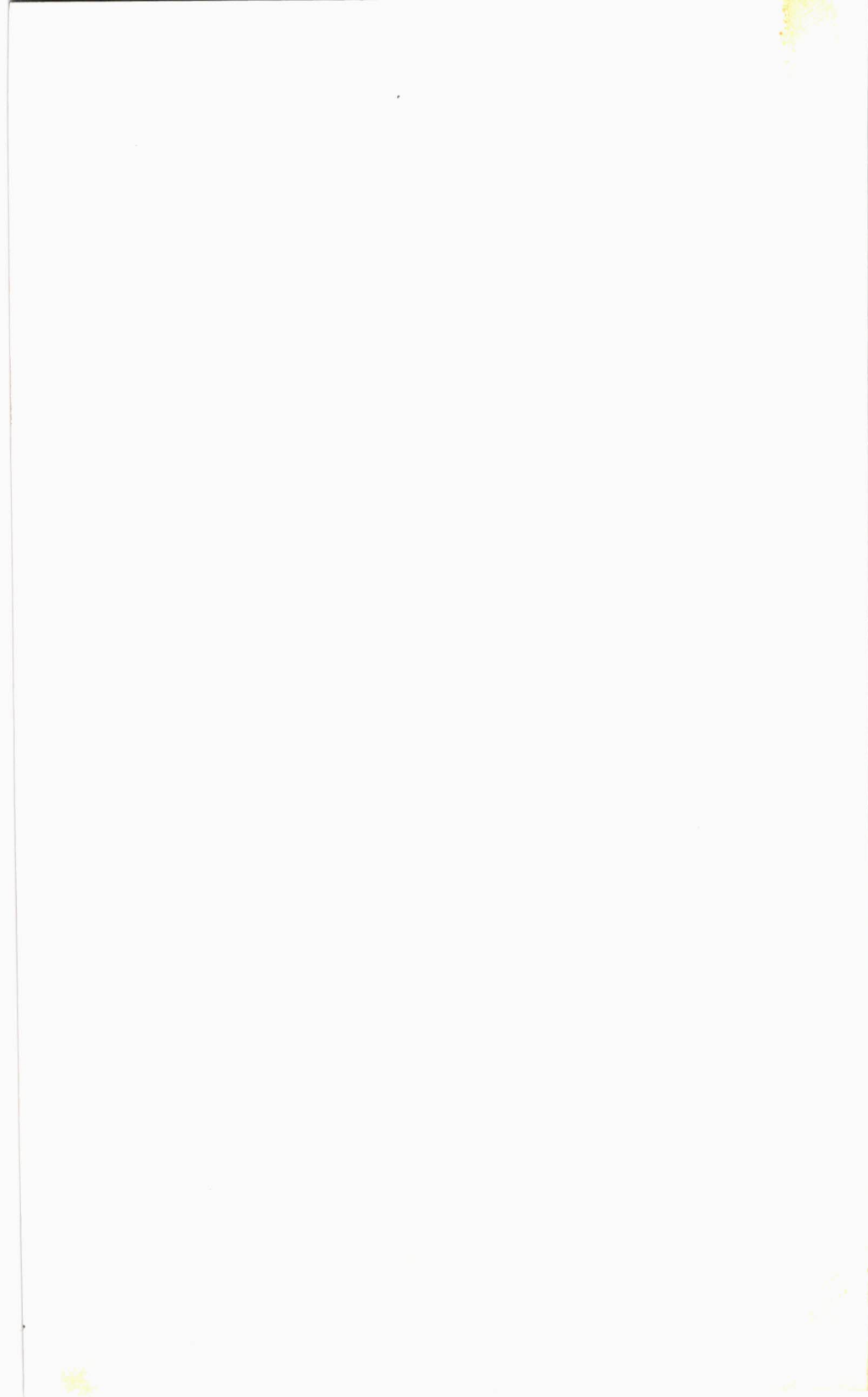
selected writings

VOLUME 1

- Political and Social Thought of the Buddhist Writers
- Theories of Kingship in Ancient India
- Studies in Hindu Materialism

Dr. K.B. KRISHNA

Birth Centenary Celebrations Committee Publication



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Selected Writings

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- * Theories of Kingship in Ancient India
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Editorial Board

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Centre for Scientific Socialism

Acharya Nagarjuna University

Nagarjuna Nagar - 522 510

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**POLITICAL AND SOCIAL THOUGHT
OF
THE BUDDHIST WRITERS OF
THE EARLY CHRISTIAN ERA**

(A Study of the Movement of Protest Against Caste System
from the Second Century A.D. to the Fifth Century A.D.)

DR. K.B. KRISHNA
MA, Ph.D. (Harvard)

Submitted to :
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Acknowledgments

A Centenary Committee with renowned people from different walks of life in Andhrapradesh was formed to commemorate the Birth Centenary Dr. Katragadda Bala Krishna (1906-2006), a Marxist scholar 'par excellence' and one of the pioneers in the application of Marxist methodology to study the multifacets of Indian society. The editorial board of the steering committee intends to bring out selected writings of Dr. Krishna in five volumes.

The publication of these volumes would not have been possible but for the most generous help extended by the 'kith and kin' of Dr. K.B.Krishna and host of philanthropists and educationists whose debt can't ever be repaid. It is, therefore pertinent to appreciate their gesture of goodwill individually.

We thank Sri Katragadda Brahmaiah, Proprietor of Sri Lakshmi Press, Guntur and Sri Katragadda Lakshmi Narasimha Rao, Chairman Katragadda Foundation, who evinced keen interest in the project and extended financial support to publish the first volume.

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Our special thanks are due to the Staff of A.P. State Archives, Hyderabad for their cooperation in putting together the manuscripts of Dr. K.B.Krishna as available in the Archives.

Comments and suggestions are earnestly solicited for guidance in future publications. We take this opportunity to thank those who have supported indirectly or anonymously and extended their cooperation in this strenuous task of publishing the works of Dr. K.B.Krishna.

**Steering Committee of
Dr K.B.Krishna Birth Centenary Celebrations Committee**

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PREFACE

It is the earnest endeavour of the editorial board to classify the selected works of Dr. K.B.Krishna and bring them in five volumes.

Volume one : 1. Political and Social Thought of the Buddhist Writers. (1930) 2. Theories of Kingship in Ancient India (1932) 3. Studies in Hindu Materialism (1932).

Volume two : The Problem of Minorities, or The Communal Representation in India. (Ph.D. Dissertation - 1935 ; Published -1939)

Volume three : 1. Studies in Imperialism (1932), 2. Plan for Economic Development of India (1945) 3. Second World War and Industrialisation of India.

Volume four : Essays on Contemporary Political Issues.

Volume five : 1. Diderot (French Materialist Philosopher) 2. Origin and Growth of Modern Democratic Ideas in 17th Century England.

As stated supra, the first volume of selected writings of Dr. K.B.Krishna consists of 1. Political and Social Thought of the Buddhist Writers. (1930) 2. Theories of Kingship in Ancient India (1932) 3. Studies in Hindu Materialism (1932).

The reason to bring them together in a single volume is obvious that they deal with ancient Indian Society. The subject matter took up by Dr. Krishna in each of these works deals with different and distinct facets of ancient Indian Social History.

As Dr. Krishna himself clearly stated that he had employed 'Materialist Conception of History' as a tool of analysis to study the Indian History and Philosophy.

The first part of the first volume deals with political and social thought of Buddhist writers from second century AD to seventh century

AD. It explains as to how the political and social thought of Buddhism is conspicuously different from another important and dominant religious and cultural stream called Brahmanism.

The second part aims at unraveling the evolution and unfolding of the development of institution of kingship in ancient India. The author had compared Sramanic Tradition with Brahmanical Tradition in India on one hand and on the other hand with western traditions.

The third part deals with the ancient Indian materialism which influence the social and ethical life of ancient India.

It is evident from the available information that Dr. Krishna wrote the first work in 1930, though the same was submitted to prof. P.A. Sorokin at Harvard University on May 25, 1933. (see Editors' appendix of this volume)

The second and third parts of this volume were submitted in 1932 by Dr. Krishna at Harvard University as part of his academic course. However the introductory part and 4th - 6th essays of Studies in Hindu Materialism were completed between 1940 - 46. Hence we are obliged to arrange them as they are presented in this volume.

The page wise footnotes given by Dr. Krishna in each chapter are brought to the end of each chapter in each volume. No changes are made except as stated above.

Editorial Board

Edpuganti Nageswara Rao
C. Raghavachari
G. Koteswara Rao

C. Narasimha Rao, Editor
N. Anjaiah, Editor

A Forgotten Intellectual of the South

Kambhampati Satyanarayana

Dr. K.B. Krishna (Katragadda Balakrishna), a brilliant scholar committed to social advancement, a valiant fighter against imperialism and a steadfast champion of the working class, died unknown, unhonoured and unwept in our country. The thirty-second death anniversary falls on December 22 this year¹.

His book, *The problem of Minorities, or Communal Representation in India*, was acclaimed by the UNESCO around 1950 as one of the two best works published till then on the question of minorities. His *Theories of Kingship in India* is based on primary sources like the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, Manu Smriti, Aitareya Brahmana, Taittiriya Brahmana, Baudhyana Dharma Sutra, Vasishta Samhita, Satapatha Brahmana, Sukra Neeti, Kalidasa's Raghuvamsa, Kautilya's Arthashastra, etc.,. His Political and Social Thought of the Buddhist Writers is based on ancient classics like Vajra Suchi, Sutralankara, Saundarananda Kavyam, Buddha Charita, Lalita Vistara, Aryasura's Jataka Mala, Buddha Ghosha's Parables, etc.

He studied Economics and Politics in Britain from 1921 to 1929. As a student and research scholar in the University of Harvard from 1929 to 1938, Dr. Krishna had free access to the translations of all the source materials mentioned above. He joined Harvard as student of Political Science, earning while learning. He delved deep into all the works pertaining to his subject, besides those on Economics, Sociology and Philosophy. He also studies Jurisprudence, Administrative Law, Comparative Public Law etc.

Krishna discovered that Marxism was the best tool for understanding the laws of social development. He strove to apply these laws to the rise and fall of empires, institutions and systems of society. It is in the light of this knowledge that he conducted researches on various subjects and produced valuable papers, such as those on Hindu materialism, Buddhist thought, Dravidian polity, Indian nationalism, India and the League of Nations, Factory Legislation in India, etc.

Krishna worked on the problem of minorities, or the Hindu-Muslim problem in India. Those essays, coupled with his further studies on Nationalism and Imperialism, developed into a thesis on communal repre-

sentation in India. It was submitted to Harvard University. "There is not one page in this book", says he, "which Rupert Emerson (his Professor K.S.) did not criticise. He is the most formidable critic of my work at Harvard, and I am very much indebted to him." But Emerson had to confront a veritable Titan. Krishna defended his thesis so brilliantly that the decision to award him the Ph D was unanimous. The hard-boiled imperialist, Emerson, had to bow his head.

Since then Krishna revised his thesis continuously, taking advantage of the additional material he could find at the India Office Library, London, the Colonial Office Library, the British Museum, the India League and other organisations. The book was finally published by George Allen and Unwin in January 1939. It is an outright indictment of the policy of divide and rule pursued by British imperialism in India.

A few days before the outbreak of World War II (September, 1939) Dr Krishna arrived in Madras and took part in the First Tamil Nadu Students Conference at Chidambaram. He was deeply involved in the student movement in the South. He addressed students gatherings, attacking British imperialism for thrusting the war on the Indian people. These speeches soon landed him in jail. Being accustomed to a comparatively free atmosphere, he was unaware of the ways of British imperialism in India. He was arrested in early 1941 and detained in the Vellor Central Jail under the Defence of India Rules.

This writer, together with about two hundred detenus brought from the four linguistic zones of Madras Presidency, had the opportunity of spending a year and a half with Dr. Krishna, exchanging ideas with him, listening to his talks and discussing problems with him. His outspokenness, earnestness and simplicity, coupled with his depth of vision, power of analysis and clarity of thought impressed all those who were close to him. In jail he adopted a novel method of teaching Capital, a method in which the teacher was also the taught. It was simple, the more intelligent among the students were divided into small groups of three each. Each group read together a particular section in a chapter; helping one another to understand the author's argument. Next, they sat with the teacher (Krishna) to seek his help to get difficult concepts clarified. Next, the group elected one among themselves to give an exposition of the section to the class as a whole. He fulfilled his task to the best of his capacity, the teacher sitting by his side. After he had completed the job, another member of the group answered questions, and a third supplemented or clarified one or two. This method meant training teachers from among the stu-

dents. Such classes were held once in two days, leaving one day for preparation.

When the Vellore detenu yard was busy in this process of teaching-cum-learning, Moscow Radio announced on June 21, 1941 that Hitler's forces had launched a massive attack on the Soviet Union along the 2000 mile border, violating the non-aggressive pact signed by the two powers. It was also announced that Britain, the USA, China and the Soviet Union had entered into a treaty of friendship and mutual help for defeating the three Fascist powers (Germany, Italy and Japan). The announcement was a jolt to the detenus; till then their attitude to the war had been one of opposition, its character being imperialist. After Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union and the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Help did it continue to be the same? What would be the future of the world, including colonies and semi colonies like India to fight side by side with the Allies without being hampered by British imperialism? What was the guarantee that colonies and semi-colonies would be liberated after the Allies won the war? Some saw a fundamental change in the situation. To many there was no change, as far as India was concerned.

At this juncture Krishna announced a temporary suspension of classes. He began to think hard, and after a week he drafted a thesis which ran into 300 pages of an exercise note-book. Some other prepared separate papers, presenting different points of view. After ten days the whole yard reassembled to discuss the draft.

In his draft thesis, Krishna showed how a qualitative change had occurred in the international situation. World imperialism had got spilt into two, one part joining the camp of democracy and socialism and the other assuming the most monstrous form, namely Fascism. The war no longer remained an imperialist war, it had become an anti Fascist war. The interests of the working class lay in defeating Fascism and winning the world for democracy and socialism. The vanguard of the working class in India should work out a strategy consistent with the tasks of the working class as a whole - namely, the defeat of Fascism. He avoided all jargon, confining himself to the formulation of tasks in general. For a scholar cut off from Indian public life for about two decades it was a remarkable exercise in the application of the laws of dialectics to the changed international situation. To have prepared a thesis in barely ten days was quite a feat.

But the overwhelming majority of the detenus did not accept his thesis. Discussions went on for weeks. There was much intolerance and

rancour. This state of affairs disturbed the sensitive Krishna who felt isolated, though a strong group of tested revolutionaries supported his stand. By the time the official CPI line reached the yard he had been transferred to another jail.

Dr. Krishna was released at a time when the Fascist offensive was at its height. But lack of elementary means of sustenance, frustration in marital life and alienation from the patterns of work in India drove him to search for a suitable job. He worked as a Professor in Belgaum University for some time, but resigned due to differences with the authorities. He went to Sri Lanka to join as Professor in Colombo University, but was denied the post because of official interference. He worked for the All-India Manufacturers' Association on a research project, the subject being "Industrialisation in India during the Second World War". But his work was returned because it was found to be "too polemical".

The only friend Krishna had in Madras was the late Darsi Chenchaiyah, one of the Ghadar heroes who was imprisoned for about six years in Indian jails after the First World War. He and his wife, the late Subhadramma, treated Dr. Krishna with affection, shared food with him and tried to keep him in good spirits. But no one could help lift Dr. Krishna's drooping spirits. His disappointments grew. He dragged on for several weeks living on bare tea. He died on December 22, 1948.

Dr Krishna's work, *The Problem of Minorities, of Communal Representation in India*, was written on the basis of his doctoral thesis. Its theme runs like this (most of the wording is the author's). India is a colony of British imperialism. Hindus and Muslims, Sikhs and Christians, all alike, are denied civil liberties. They are slaves in their own land. The term 'minority' is invented to further the interests of British imperialism and certain sections of the backward professional classes. It is an indispensable expedient of counterpoise of natives against natives. A minority must not be disloyal, seditious, etc. It must be moderate, nay reactionary. It crawls on its belly for 'protection'. It cries for artificial ropes and pulleys for buttressing itself. It means a rising professional class belonging to one of the various faiths or communities that demands a share in the government. The alleged grievances of a minority against the majority are myths. But they are adopted by a class that needs such myths. The friction between Hindus and Muslims and between caste Hindus and the Depressed Classes is to be explained by the socio-economic formation of the country, not by religion. Hence, communal representation in legislative bodies

has to be abolished. The history of communal representation, is a veiled plea for posts and emoluments. The only solution is to demand independence for India. The demand for abolition of communal representation is inseparable from the demand for independence. But independence is not a gift. It has to be fought for by building up a united national front against British imperialism.

To buttress his argument, the author quotes extensively from statements of British Viceroy and Secretaries of State, the leaders of backward religions and communities - and also anti-imperialist sections like the Congress and the Communist Party of India. About the Communists he says: "The Communists are today the foremost workers for the united national front against imperialism. They do not isolate themselves from the national anti-imperialist struggle. They are transforming the growing unity already achieved by the Congress into a united national front against imperialism.

Social and Political Thought of Buddhist Writers is a work of Dr. Krishna, posthumously published by the Visalaandhra Publishing House, Vijayawada. Quoting from Buddhist writings, the author concludes that Buddhism has trimmed and tempered the conception of monarchy with its humanitarian ideals. It has purged it of divinity, set aside the baneful influence of priests and sought the origin of authority in the people. It made kingship an office and relegated sacrifices to the background. It exalted the conception of equality, and on that ground attacked the caste system. *Theories of Kingship in India* is also a work posthumously published by Visalandhra. Quoting from several classics, the author concludes that the divine right of kings never existed in India in its extreme form. All that Hindu theory emphasised was the divine origin of the institution. It did not logically deduce the implication as was done in the West.

Political Thought in Dravidian Literature is an unpublished work of Dr. Krishna, preserved in the AP State Archives, Hyderabad, on a loan basis, along with other papers of his. It is a compilation of extracts from Tamil classics of the early Christian era and Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam works of the early medieval period. Most of the pages are devoted to Tamil classics. Thiruvalluvar's *Kural* is a combined treatise on politics, economics and ethics. Its author addresses himself to the whole community of mankind, without regard to caste, class or faith. There is no mention of the divine right of kings, ministers, ambassadors and spies are mentioned in detail. Another classic, *Silappadikaram* by Ilango, advocates limited monarchy with five assemblies, a high priest and ministers. The rulers held before them high ideals. The notion of toleration had a high

mentioned in detail. Another classic, *Silappadikaram* by Ilango, advocates limited monarchy with five assemblies, a high priest and ministers. The rulers held before them high ideals. The notion of toleration had a high place. Society is depicted as a combination of five different professions. Another work, *Manimekhalai*, gives an idealised picture of a Buddhist monarch. Caste is repudiated, and the doctrine of quality supported. Other works like *Chintamani* and the hymns of Saivite saints are also dealt with. Regarding Telugu works, political thought as propounded in *Amuktamalyada* of Krishna Deva Raya, *Neetisara* by Prataparudra, *Mitakshara* by Yagnavalkya, *Neetisara Muktavali* by Baddena, *Paratatva Rasayana* by Phanibhatta, etc, are briefly dealt with.

Studies in Hindu (Indian) Materialism is another unpublished manuscript of Dr Krishna, preserved in the AP State Archives. The author here traces the history of materialist thought in India, beginning from Brihaspati and Charvaka and ending with Vemana. Source material for his study of Brihaspati and Charvaka (B.C. 1200-200) is divided into eight categories. The first includes texts which refer to Lokayata indirectly - Rigveda, Aitareya Brahmana, Aitareya Aranyaka, Taittiriya Brahmana, Yaska Nirukta, Upanishads, Puranas, Mahabharata, Ramayana and Manu Smriti. The second category includes Buddhist texts - Buddhist Suttas, Dhammapada, Sutta Nipata, Sanyutta Nikaya, Angutta Nikaya, Malinda Panho, Saddamma Lankavatara Sutta, Abidamatta Samga, Kada Vattu, Patimokka, Magavagga, Cullavagga, etc.. Under the third category come jaina texts like Nandi Sutra, Anuyogadvarani Sutra, Jaina Sutras, etc., The fourth includes texts of opposition writers, who referred to Lokayata indirectly - Anugita, Asvagosha, Bhasa, Bhaskaracharya's *Brahma Sutra*, the works of Harsha, Kautilya, Krishna Misra, Madhavacharya's *Sarva Darshana Sangraha*, Panini, Patanjali, Sankara, Vatsyayana, Vachapati Misra, etc. The fifth includes important articles, essays and works on Hindu materialism, numbering 16. The sixth includes other works, numbering 25, which refer to Hindu materialism casually. Miscellaneous works, numbering three, fall in the seventh category. The last includes nine journals of learned societies.

Explaining the primitive character of Lokayata, the author says it does not explain the world as a concrete reality of substance and phenomena, but in terms of sensations; it emphasises perceptions as the only source of knowledge. It maintains that the four elements - earth, air, water and fire are self - existing principles; their permutations and combinations produce an infinite variety of bodies. But the system does not explain the elements. "It is curious how the Lokayatas who protested

against the mechanical forms of inference as a source of knowledge, fell into the same mechanical forms of reasoning, when they explained that the four elements become transformed into organism (which includes the mind as well as the soul). "In denouncing religion as the invention of individuals desirous of deceiving their fellowmen, the Lokayats did not go beyond the ideas that prevailed in their days. They denounced the Vedas as authority, but quoted passages from the Upanishads to support their views. They do not hold with the Buddha that evil is the essence of existence; they hold that life can be enjoyed though it is mingled with pain. "Like Buddhism", said the author, "which is new wine poured into old bottles, Lokayata is new wine poured into old bottles. It is the natural-born body of India. It is cast in the mould of the country, and partakes of the contradictory streams of life in India."

Dealing with Kapila's (B.C. 700-600) Sankhya system, the author says; "Kapila, in spite of some orthodox leanings, is a democrat. All men alike have the power of effecting their emancipation, irrespective of caste... He, like Descartes, refused to accept the authority of anything which had preceded him. He would accept only what his reason or conviction would accept... The leading principle of Kapila's system is that blessedness of soul cannot be attained by religious rites but by knowledge."

The five post-Upanishadic materialists (B.C. 1000-600) Ajita Kesa Kamblin, Pakutta Kachayana, Sanjaya Belatha Putta, Purana Kassapa and Makkali Gosal - are not, according to the author, direct materialists like the Lokayats. Yet they denounced ritual, life after death and the concept of soul as an active element in life. Sanjaya Belatha Putta, according to the author, is the father of Indian dialectics. Makkali Gosal conceived of the world as a rational, purposive order, "a system in which everything has that place and function as assigned to it which contributes to the well-being of the whole".

Dr Krishna discovers "materialist aspects" even in the Bhagavad Gita. Krishna, the preceptor, says the author, emphasised knowledge coupled with action, and taught unity of theory and practice. He did not deny the role of will; yet he stated that will itself-determined by nature. Nature, according to him, is self-determined in each individual. Both man and nature are determined. Within this determinism man is yet free to act. Consciousness is an instrument of nature when it acts. By propounding this idea Krishna undermined fatalism. He attacked the Vedas mildly (They bring no message to this fleeting an illusory world) and speaks with contempt of the "flowery speech spoken by witless fools" who see nothing

beyond the Veda. Nowhere in the Gita does Krishna speak of caste by birth. He speaks of caste formed according to nature. Each man possesses his own nature, whose promptings it is idle to defy.

Next, the author deals with the materialist aspects of *Prabhoda Chandrodaya*, an allegorical play of the 10th Century, written by Krishna Misra. The actors are persons like Charvaka, Buddha, Jaina and others, and qualities like prudence, virtue, passion, etc. The play is devoted to defence of Advaita against other schools. The ideas that emerge from the dialogues, according to Dr. Krishna, compelled the orthodox systems to reconsider their opponents' views, and in some cases, they were incorporated by later Hinduism, as in the case of Buddhism and Jainism.

Lastly, Vemana (AD 1400), though not materialist, attacked the evils of his day purely from a utilitarian point of view. His protest is of the same nature as that of the Buddhists - temperate and dignified. He did not deny God or soul. All that he denied was the efficacy of worship, pilgrimages and sacrifices, of idolatry and other devices of the Brahmins. He denounced the caste system in a way none had done before. He was more of a social reformer.

India and the League of Nations is an extensive study of India's role in the League of Nations, whose activities comprised economic development of member countries, regulation of labour conditions, disarmament, codification of International Law, preservation of peace, child welfare activities, etc. Though India had a Legislative Assembly and a Council of State, delegates to the League of Nations were chosen not by the Legislature but by the Executive. India's role was a subservient one. The author shows that in crucial matters like reduction of armaments, constitution of the army and economic development, Indian delegates were no better than Britain's puppets. Regarding the princely states, the Paramount Power played the role of ringmaster. The controversies which raged in the Central Legislature regarding the representative character of Indian delegations are dealt with to pin-point the opposition of the elected members to the autocratic policy of Britain. A silver lining, however, was the performance of Labour delegates in the ILO. (The reference, obviously, is to V.V. Giri, N.M. Joshi and S.V. Parulekar).

The Theory of Redistribution of Provinces in India. Its Origins and History. The scope of this paper is limited. It is concerned with the theory or redistribution of provinces. It does not deal with the movement as such, though some of its characteristics are mentioned. After a study of papers concerning the Bengal Partition (1903-1906), those concerning

Bengal and Assam (1903-1906), the Montagu-Chelmsford Report (1918), the resolutions of conferences convened by representatives of the English-educated middle classes and others of various historical communities (Andhras, Tamils, Kanarese, Oriyas), the Reports of the All-parties' Conference (1928), the Statutory Commission (1929), the Second Round-Table Conference, the White Paper proposals, the Joint Committee Report and the New Constitution Bill for India, the author says that the origins of the theory lie in the growth of professional classes in the various backward historical communities. "The history of this movement is the history of the struggle between the professional classes of the historical communities and those of the provinces from which they wished to secede. On the part of the Government, it is a history of concessions and counterpoise."

The Second World War and Industrialisation in India is a product of intensive research done by Dr. Krishna after his release from jail. But it was rejected by the All-India Manufacturers' Association, which had entrusted the project to him. The theme of the paper runs like this: The State in India is an imperialist state, run in the interests of millocracy and moneyocracy of Britain. The chief problem of the young bourgeoisie is the market for selling its goods. It struggles for this market against the imperialist state. It is in this struggle that the nationalist movement was born. The history of industrial development in India is the history of concessions from imperialism. Between 1890 and 1920 industrial development was of limited character under the aegis of imperialism. The textile industry was the only large-scale industry run by the native bourgeoisie. But it earned immense profits during the First World War. There was further development during 1920-39, but that too was of a limited nature. Industries like cement, coal, cotton, piece-goods, jute, matches, paper, pig iron, sugar and steel ingots grew. There was a remarkable increase in production, especially in consumer goods industries. There was partial self-sufficiency in cotton, pig iron, steel, glass, paper, hardware and soap. There was intense political agitation and struggle for concessions.

But serious defects in the Indian economy came in the way of further progress. Firstly, feudal oppression in the countryside curbed the purchasing power of the masses. Secondly, there was better competition between big industrial houses like the Tatas and the Birlas and small manufacturers. Thirdly, industrial finance organisations had no control over banks, which were mostly in the hands of British financiers. Lastly, transport shipping and automobile industries were not encouraged by the state.

During the Second World War, export of manufacture goods gave

a fillip to the growth of certain industries (textiles, machine-tools, engineering goods, scientific instruments, drugs, heavy chemicals, etc.) This was mostly due to war requirements. Big Indian industrialists earned record profits. Export controls, bureaucratic regulations, inefficiency and corruption acted as brakes on further growth. Also it was clear that the Government would not encourage certain industries, shipbuilding, automobile, aviation, iron and steel, etc., "We are for industrialisation", says the author. "We mean by this that we demand conditions for the free development of capitalism. This means a struggle against feudalism and imperialism. When freedom is won, we believe that as long as there is scope for development within the framework of a freed capitalist system, the working class, the kisans, the students and middle classes, will support the regime because they can develop to a certain extent. When the productive system becomes a fetter to further development, the working class and its allies can take the matter into their hands, according to the degree of their consciousness, organisation and influence over the masses."

Dr. Krishna prepared several other papers, which include the following. Factory Legislation in India and its Effectiveness in Bombay Presidency; Studies in Imperialism, Revolutionary upsurge in India; Indian States in a Federal Structure; Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions with reference to Indian Magistracy; French Revolution; The Three Russian Revolutions; the Problem of Nationalities in the USSR; The Three Internationals; Diderot; Origin and Growth of Democratic Ideas in 17th Century England; Bacon (notes); Studies in the History of Philosophy (notes)

The degree of richness and advancement of a community is often measured by the number of creative scholars it has. Unfortunately, in societies based on exploitation, this is not so. Creative intellect not in consonance with the existing system and not readily useful for the perpetuation of the system is beyond comprehension. Perhaps Dr Krishna is just an example of how the intellectual wealth of humanity is not only allowed to go waste, but also undergoes intense mental torture in its struggle to lay bare the truths of natural and social laws. When will humanity learn to harness its intellectual resources, the most valuable of all resources, to full advantage?

From : Mainstream, December 20, 1980 pp. 24-26.

EDITORS NOTES :

1. As per the available records, Dr. Krishna died on 18th December 1948. See, Andhra Patrika Daily dated 23rd December 1948.

PREFACE

I chose this title for various reasons. What I wanted to concentrate is mainly upon "*The history of the movements of protest against the caste system.*" But, unfortunately, I have not been able to incorporate all the materials - although I have them ready now - into this essay.

1. In the first place, this is the only way by which I could utilise the rest of the materials for purposes of this essay into one coherent one.
2. It shows during this period how Brahmanic and Buddhistic ideas struggle for ascendancy and at the same time existed side by side.
3. It shows mobility of various kinds during this period.
4. This thesis is complete by itself, and throws light on the institution of caste which was in the making during this period.
5. Lastly, I thought this is the only way by which I could bring extracts from originals into relief.

-K.B. Krishna.

INTRODUCTION

A history of political thought is not only History, but also a consideration of Political classics. So far as the period traversed in this thesis is concerned, we have no political classics whatever. All the classics I considered in this thesis are religious. Their aim is propagation of Buddhism. The references to Politics are scanty, meagre and secondary. In this respect, they bear a close resemblance to the works of Roman Lawyers, Early Christian Fathers and the Reformers of the sixteenth century. We only gather political ideas indirectly from them. Political thought in these writers is unconscious. It is for this reason that I have discussed individual writers in a somewhat chronological order, but at the same time I have not lost sight of the fact that the evaluation of political thought should be in close harmony with the spirit of the age. I did not cling to "the old fashioned study of the important contemporary writers in extenso,"¹ although it is essential in a case where there are no political classics. I therefore, throughout, held before me the dictum that "the history of political theory is not the history of a few isolated classics, it is the study of a stream of influence which has flowed down from age to age, now deflected by some great event, now determining the course of events themselves."² It is a history of such a stream - Buddhism - that I attempt to write in this thesis.

What exactly is meant by 'political and social thought ?' Was there ever such a distinction between the two terms in Ancient India of this period ? Take the word Dharma.³ When a Hindu says that an act is against Dharma, he merely means it is unconstitutional, not that it contravenes any existing laws, but that it is against usage, tradition, unwritten precedents and a norm. In other words, it is unconstitutional in the English usage of the word and not in the American usage of the word. His private act is thus determined by sutras. Here the aspect in which the act is considered in relation to Dharma, is social or religious. The definition of Dharma in Asoka's Rock edict⁴ is entirely social. The act can be politically considered in relation to Dharma, if it emanates from the king. Dharma has also a political content, even a legal content, if it refers to Rajyaparipalana

or an assertion of ancient primitive rights. A violation of such a political and legal content constitutes a transgression, and the instrumentality through which remedy is effected is of a political nature. Hence Dharma is both the State and Society. This implies a distinction between those terms as being understood in those days. Such a distinction is understood in all Hindu Political classics.

Take the Samghas. Are they Social or Political institutions ? To me they seem to be both. They are social in the sense that they are associations for a common purpose of realising the ideals of Buddhism. Later they became the means of redressing the poverty of the people. It was poverty that later drove these men to the Samghas, more than the call of Buddha. Charity and alms-giving were emphasised. Those social virtues, at first religious postulates, received a fresh impetus by the grinding poverty of the homeless wanderers that thronged the Samghas from all parts of India. The share of goods equally among the Bhikkus, the absence of private property and the sense of social solidarity - are these not social ideas, so warmly praised by that prince of Sanskrit Scholars, Max Muller ?⁵

How is it Political ? The constitution of the Samgha is the answer. The election of the Bhikkus, its procedure, its method, its decisions by the majority, those minute details which correspond to modern parliamentary institutions, so well described in Cullavagga - might be some replicas of political States flowering in those days.⁶ If not, they might have been certainly the ideal replicas for a political speculator. It has a political pattern framed for a religious end. The Kshatriya tribes⁷ that flourished in those days, the Lichchhavis, the Videhas, the Vaisalians, and the Mallas had the same Samghas' constitution. Besides, the influence these Samghas exerted on men and institutions is immense. It could not be so unless it were of participation however indirect. Hence the Samgha is political as well as social.

Is it religious ? Undoubtedly it is. The object is Dharma. The State is grounded in Dharma. So is Society and so is Samgha. If there has been separation between State and Society, paradoxical as it is, there has not been any separation between Politics and Religion. The following panegyric from Maha Bharata testifies to this.

"In Politics are realised all the forms of renunciation, in Politics are united all the sacraments, in Politics are combined all knowledge, in Politics are centred all the worlds." ⁸

If shorn of Brahmin pedantry, the above ideas express Buddhist conception of Politics in relation to religion. In other words, a history of Political thought is not only a history of State and Society but also a history of Religion. The history of Buddhist political thought is an unmitigated history of Buddhism. ⁹

The state of culture and civilisation of India of this period reached such a high stage, that sociological concepts which draw a line between "social and political" are useless. Hence it is by a consideration of these, I should say historical concepts, rather than sociological and metaphysical, that I chose the words "political and social".

The history outlined in this thesis is essentially one of Ideas and not of Institutions. The Ideas are not even historical, but conceptual. Happily in the case of Buddhism, we have means of examining the ideas in relation to history. The ideas of Karl Marx are put to practice by Lenin. The Russian State is founded on the ideology of Marx. Similarly, before the Christian era, the Asokan State is founded on the method and ideology of Buddha. After the Christian era, the Kanishkan State is founded on the ideology of Mahayana School of Buddhist thought. The motive power of Lenin is Karl Marx, and the motive power of Asoka is Buddha. Where I have been unable to obtain ideas, I have examined institutions with a view to elicit on what ideas those were based.

The entire source for this thesis is Literature, supplemented here and there by a few sprinklings of inscriptions, observations of foreign travellers, Tibetan and Chinese historians. Not only India but the whole world owes a deep debt of gratitude to the Pali Text Society. It has published and edited several texts which I have amply used in this thesis. The published and unpublished manuscripts in the private and public libraries of India and Europe, telegraphic descriptions of which are to be found in Professor Aufrecht's "catalogus catalogorum", not only in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit but also Dravidian Languages, need a scholarly edition, ¹⁰ until then, any attempted history is incomplete.

Fortunately, Buddhism has not presented that ghastly spectacle of inconsistency which is the unfailing virtue of Brahmin writers. This is due to the less dogmatic nature of Hinduism. Hence the Brahmins are inconsistent in Religion and Politics. In this respect they differ from the Reformers of the sixteenth century in that they are consistent religiously and inconsistent politically. In critical and revolutionary times the Brahmins have often assumed their pre-eminence by the judicious recognition of heresies. This involved inconsistencies.¹¹ But there is an exception to the statement of Buddhist consistency. This occurs among later school of writers of the Christians Era. But this thesis is not affected by them.

I did not discuss Brahmanic political thought separately. It is by no means extinct during the period we are considering. It is existing side by side with the growth of Buddhism, which is one long research into the pretences of Brahmins, a continual assault upon the ancient priest craft, - its droners, -. As such it needs no special discussion. They occur at due places in this thesis.

Lastly, I gave more preference to historical and analytical considerations than to patriotic ones. Political thought is not a vendor's article. It cannot be boosted from the house-tops of patriotism. It cannot enhance its reputation by a stray quotation from a Kautilya, a Vaisampayana, a Chandiswara and a Yuktikalpataru. It is a slow unending process filtered from age to age. It is the creation of circumstances. Viewed from this point, one would come to conclusions directly at variance with the patriotic school of writers.

-The Author.

NOTES :

1. C. H. Mc Ilwain : "The Political Works of James I" Preface, vii.
2. Mc Ilwain op. cit., Int. XX.
3. Cosmic order or norm in Chinese it is TAO.
4. R. E. XII R. Mookvyis "Asoka ". p. 69-71.
5. In his "Chips From the German Workshop".
6. I say advisedly 'might be'.....Jayaswal. K.R, takes a dogmatic view that they are reproductions of Political Samghas. There is not a shred of evidence to support this statement. "Hindu Polity" : R 47-48 Pt. I.
7. B. C. Law "Some Kshatriya tribes of Ancient India" 1924.
8. Maha Bharata, Santi Parva. 63 Verse 29.
9. C. Eliot's three Vol. of "Hinduism and Buddhism" form a good history but they have many mistakes.
10. Professor Aufrecht's volumes are very old. They have not been made up to date. Students of Ancient India know how invaluable his volumes are. For a good list of available books on Hindu Political Science, see Modern Review, Oct. 1917 to Jan. 1918 and March and June 1918. by N.N. Law.
11. Sir Charles Eliot 'Hinduism and Buddhism' Vol. 1. p. 39.

1. BUDDHIST WRITERS IN THE NORTH OF INDIA

SANTI DEVA

The date of this writer is uncertain. He probably belongs to the second century A.D. He too did not write any special book on Politics. His contribution to political and social philosophy is indirect and unconscious. He was primarily a Buddhist, and the usual social and religious obligations are enjoined.

According to Taranatha, the famous Tibetan historian, he was a king in Sourashtra (modern Gujerat). He wrote a compendium entitled "Sikshasamuchchaya", a commentary on his Karikas,¹ and also "Suvana Bhasa".

The following extracts speak for themselves. He expresses the vow of Bodhisatva thus :

"I must destroy the sorrow of the stranger, because it pains like one's own grief; I must do good to others because they are beings like myself. Just as a man loves his hands and feet because they are his members, so also all living beings have the right of affection, in as much as they are all members of the same world of animate creation. It is only mere usage which makes us look upon this our body which in fact does not exist as our ego. Exactly similarly by habit we can bring to ourselves to see our ego in others. Our only enemy is our own selfish ego "

We can read the whole social gospel of Buddhism in the above extract.

This one also breathes the same lofty note of universal love, benevolence, charity and kindness to all beings.

"By the drums of the Suvana Bhasottama, let pains be assuaged to the three thousand worlds, pains of Yama's world (death), and pains of poverty here in the three worlds, and by this as it sounds the drum let vice in the world be ended and let all beings be unhurt

by fear, even as the great sages are unhurt by fear, their fears allayed; even as those are endowed with all holy virtues, oceans of omniscience as regards existence, so may people be seas of virtue endowed with all the constituents of tranquility and wisdom. In all regions of all things that have breath let all pains be done away in the world. Let all creatures that are maimed in their organs are ducked of a limb be whole as they should be. Let those who are diseased, weak without limbs, lying helpless in all places, all be set free from their disease quickly and made whole in the organs of strength. They who are frightened be kings, robbers and bravos, condemned to death, threatened with misery by hundreds of different fears, let all those in misery and pain be set free from the hundreds of fears great and awful. Let the condemned have life, let those in misery all be made secure. Let the hungry, parched or thirsty, receive food and drink in plenty. Let the blind see beautiful shapes, let the deaf hear pleasant sounds, let the naked receive fine raiment, the poor a treasure. Let all beings be happy with plenty of wealth and riches and goodly jewels. May no one have pain or misery, may all beings be full of happiness, beautiful, pleasant, delightful, may all happiness be accumulated for them always.”²

What a passionate plea for an Utopia, of material wealth, happiness and comfort! Here is food for those who decry Buddhism as an “idealistic nihilism”.³

It would be interesting to know how far this king Santi Deva put into practice the above precepts. Unfortunately, we have no evidence or data for any opinion on this point. Is he a historical figure or a traditional one common in Hindu literature? History is silent and the usual Histories seldom mention his name.

Summary :

. The ideas expressed in the above extracts represent the social or ethical obligations of the society towards fellow members. Identification of individual self, sufferings and interests with other beings, is the foundation of all wealth, happiness and comfort.

ASVAGHOSHA

He is the famous Buddhist teacher of the Mahayana School. He was according to tradition a teacher of King Kanishka (about 120 A.D. - about 160 A.D.). Hence he has been assigned to the second century A.D.⁴

His works are of a little more importance than those of other writers, because references to Politics are prolific. They are "Saundara Nandam Kavyam",⁵ "Sutralankara",⁶ "Vajra Suchi" and "Buddhacharitra."

Every reader of Asvaghosha must be struck by the numbers of his references to the theory of Politics which in Saundarananda is his favourite source for similes. Twice, for instance,⁷ he gives us a detailed description of the ideal Kingship then current in India except among the exponents of the Arthasastra. He knows technical terms such as Parsnigraha (S. xvii, 41 Saundaranandam) and Maitra (S. ii. 18 and xvii, 56) which Kamandaka in his "Niti Sara" (9th C. A.D.) alone uses it.

The four Upayas⁸ of Maha Bharata (the great Indian Epic) (See. XII), to which he adds a fifth Niyama (S XV. 61) (CONTROL) are familiar to him.

He quotes two Raja Sastras (Sciences of Government) (B ii, 41 & B1,46) those of Usanas and Brihaspati. These are Epic's standard authorities. Kautilya, Kamandaka, Sukra and Vaisampayana all Hindu writers quote these two schools of political thought widely.

In his Saundara Nandam Kavyam⁹ he tells us that some princes founded a city but discovered that if its affairs were to prosper they must have a king. The earth without a supreme lord is like the firmament without the moon. So the princes raised to sovereignty one of themselves, who was senior to the rest in age, 'discipline' and accomplishments. Here we can trace the secular origin of kingship. This passage is a little obscure. Here, the meaning of the word "prince" is ambiguous. Does it mean a "nobleman" or a "leader of society"? I think the original is capable of such interpretation. This passage is important for two considerations :

1. This secular origin of kingship is in direct contrast to the divine origin of kingship portrayed in Vedic literature.¹⁰

2. This passage does not tell anything about the consent of the people. It is only the leaders that chose a leader. Perhaps the consent is implied. However the omission is significant.

He continues later that the sceptre is always to be wielded for the sake of virtue, not for the sake of selfish gratification. The king should be the guide and teacher of his subjects.

In Buddha Charitra (Life of Buddha), he paints King Suddhodana as the mighty and glorious leader of his people. "He illuminated his people on every side, showing them the paths which they were to follow."¹¹ He had numberless councillors.¹² He wants the princes to receive a thorough education.¹³ The king takes one sixth of the produce as a price of the protection he affords. This is a common idea with all the writers. Aryadeva mentions the same. Suddhodana was gentle and kind to all. Guilty persons were reformed with gentle words.¹⁴ Idealistic portrait of a king's rule without punishment could not go further.

In Sutralankara which is known through Chinese translations, he repeats the same ideas. He says that the heir-apparent should know the following subjects :

"The Veda, archery, medicine, sacrifices, astronomy, grammar, the origin of writing, the performance of sacrifices, eloquence, rhetoric, the art of love, interest, purity of families, the ten names (?), computation, chess, dice, the study of origins of music and songs, the art of playing on the couch, dancing and laughter, the art of prestidigitation, education, the making of garlands of flowers, massage, the science of precious stones, and valuable materials, of clothing, silk, sealing, literature, arrangement of garlands, interpretation of dreams, interpretation of the flight of birds, horoscopes of boys and girls, the training of elephants, the art of playing on the tambourine, the rules of battle array, the domesticating of horses, the carrying of the lance, jumping, running and fording a river." This passage is deserving of careful attention. It must not be thought that the heir-apparent mentioned is a Buddhist. It must be

remembered that Asvaghosha is a Buddhist Dramatist.¹⁵ As such he is parodying the idea what a Brahmin heir-apparent ought to be now.

1. No Buddhist would accept the authority of Veda. Their only authority is Perception. Hence Asvaghosha would not advise an heir-apparent to study Veda.

2. Buddhists do not believe in the efficacy of sacrifices. He would not recommended their performance.

These amply support the view that Asvaghosha, brilliant and dramatic as he is - predecessor of Kalidasa - is only parodying a Brahmin conception of heir-apparent. It is a poetic caricature of superb exuberance.

"Vajra-Suchi" is the most important of his works for political and social theories. This work has attracted the attention of many European Scholars like Wilson, Burnouf, Muir and others. It is a Buddhist pamphlet which for direct reasoning and scathing humour would not disgrace the best days of English party Polemics.¹⁶

Plustard, le bouddhisme se declara systematiquement contrale regime des castes, et Ton cite un traite de polemique, le Vajrasuchi¹⁷, compose a une epoque inconnue, (now assigned to second century A.D.) mais ancienne, par un religieux bouddhiste, Asvaghosha, contre l'institution des castes. "Les objections d' Asvaghosha sont de deux sortes : les unes sont empruntees aux textes les splus reveres des brahmanes eux-memes; les autres s'appuient sur le principe de legalite naturelle de tous les hommes. Hauteur montre par des citations tirees du Veda, de Manow et du Maha bharata; que la qualite de brahmane n'est inherente ni au principe que vit en nous ni au corps en qui reside ce principe; et qu'elle ne resulte ni pratiques religieuses, ni de la science, ni de la naissance, ni de l' observation des devoirs moraux; ni de la connaissance du Veda. Puisque cette qualite n'est ni inherente, ni acquise, elle n'existe pas, ou plutot tous les hommes peuvent la posseder : car pour l'auteur, la qualite de brahmane, c'est un etat de purete qui a l'eblouiss ante blancheur de la fleur de jasmin." Il insiste sur l'absudite de la loi qui refuse au Sudra (4th caste) le droit d' emrasser la vie religieuse sous pretexte que sa religion

a lui c'est de servir les brahmanes. Enfin, ses arguments philosophiques sont dirigés principalement contre le mythe qui représente les quatre castes sortant successivement des quatre parties du corps de Brahma, de sa tête, de ses bras, de son ventre et de ses pieds :

"Le Kudumbara et le Panara" (names of trees), dit-il, "produisent des fruits qui naissent des branches, de la tige, des articulations et des racines; et cependant ces fruits ne sont pas distincts les uns des autres, et l'on ne peut pas dire ceci est le fruit brahmane (1st caste), cela est le fruit Kshatriya, (2nd caste), celui-ci le Vaishya, (3rd caste), celui-là le Sudra, (4th caste), car tous sont du même arbre il n'y a donc pas quatre classes, mais une seule."¹⁸

His reasoning is splendid, and he arrived at the principle of equality of human beings in attacking the institution of caste.¹⁹ What a contrast to Kautilya, whose king is an upholder and a defender of the institution of caste. It would be interesting to know that Asvaghosha was a Brahmin before he became a Buddhist. Here is a summary :

Life does not make a Brahmin.
 Brahminhood does not depend on parentage.
 Birth does not indicate a Brahmin.
 Body does not indicate a Brahmin.
 Wisdom does not make a Brahmin.
 Ritualism does not confer Brahminhood.
 Karma does not lead to Brahminhood.
 Moral attainments make a Brahmin.²⁰

No one has laid a better siege to the citadel of rampant Brahminism - the astutest priestcraft in the world - than Asvaghosha since the days of Buddha.

Asvaghosha cited instances from ancient texts, revived by Brahmins. The following examples show how loosely caste was understood in Ancient India before it had taken firm root in the days of Asvaghosha.

We have however references to Sudra and Ayogava Kings in the Vedic texts. King Yanasruti Pautrayana is called a Sudra in the Chandogya Upanishad.²¹ King Marutta Avikshita is styled "Ayogava" in Satapatha Brahmana.²²

Ayogava denotes a member of a mixed caste, a descendant of Sudra (4th caste) by a Vaisya (3rd caste) wife.²³ The Jatakas refer to kings of several castes including Brahmanas.²⁴ It can now be seen how great is the contribution of Asvaghosha to the social theories of his times.²⁵

Summary :

1. A picture of an ideal monarch is portrayed, who would not punish the guilty but counsel them to perfection.
2. He emphasised the secular origin of kingship.
3. He parodies the qualifications of an heir-apparent according to Brahmin theory. In so doing, he reaches the heights of Fleet Street Journalism.
4. He led a militant crusade against the institution of caste and deduced the principle of equality of human beings. "All human beings are in respect of joy and sorrow, love, insight, manners and ways, death, fear and life, all equal"²⁶. We hear the echo of the drums of Suvama Bhashottama of Santi Deva.

ARYADEVA

The date of this writer is also uncertain. Ghoshal assigns him to second century A.D.²⁷, Beni Prasad to third century A.D.²⁸, Keith places him in the 250 A.D.²⁹

I am not competent to discuss the correctness of these statements. Besides, this would not affect my thesis because I am considering these Buddhist writers in broad general terms as belonging to early Christian era. Both Yuan Chwang and I-Tsing, the Chinese travellers, mention Aryadeva as a great and ancient teacher of Mahayana School of Buddhism. These writers belong to the 5th and 7th centuries A.D.³⁰ There are other evidences which indicate other dates. The

Mahayana doctrine was systematized by Nagarjuna, once a Brahmin, who flourished about 200 A.D. Mahayana texts were translated into Gandhara type of Buddhist art, which illustrates the Mahayana doctrine, came into being about the beginning of the Christian era. Asanga, the son of a Brahmin from Peshawar who flourished about 300 to 350 A.D., introduced the practice of Yoga into the Mahayana doctrine. All this is of interest because Aryadeva was a Sanskrit Buddhist. Most of the Sanskrit Buddhists belonged to the new school of the Mahayana or "Great Vehicle", the chief aim of which was to attain the condition of Bodhisattva, or future Buddha; who brings Nirvana within the reach of the entire human race.³¹ The date of this author ranges from second century A.D. to seventh century A.D. I think I shall be safe if I treat him as a writer belonging to the early Christian era.

He is the author of *Chatuhsatika*.³² It is not a political work. It is primarily a didactic and philosophical work. It contains a few statements relating to political and social theory. Replying to the argument that the king's pride is justified because all undertakings depend upon him, Aryadeva states with angry, impatience, "what superciliousness is thine, (Oh King!) thou who art a (mere) servant of the multitude (ganadasa) and who receivest the 6th part (of the produce) as thine wages."³³ This passage relates to the nature of the king's office. The king is an official paid by the people for the service of protection. He is the servant of the multitude. It can be inferred that he could no longer be a king when he fails to protect the people. Kingship is secular in origin. The people have power in their choice of the king. All these are natural inferences.

The passage is equally interesting. It relates to the interdependence of Politics and Ethics. Politics is absolutely subservient to morality. Sages themselves must be judged by the eternal standards of right and wrong. The wise man should not conform to all the doings of the sages since even among them there exist the grades of bad, intermediate and good persons. With the Brahmins, sages are an authority; with the Buddhist they are not.

Another passage forbids suicide. Buddha forbids it as I have noted already.³⁴ Aryadeva inculcates the same doctrine. The sacrifice of

one's self in the form of indulgence in wine and such other things is not commended. How then can the sacrifice of one's self in battle be praised?³⁵

He lays down that the king treacherously attacking his enemy is just like an ordinary robber. The Brahmin writers extol this idea. What contrast to Kautilya who out-beats Machiavelli in his doctrine of the State. The end of a Kautilyan monarch is permanence and aggrandisement of the State. What promotes it is moral. What hinders it is immoral. With him the end justifies the means. Not so with Aryadeva. The means are equally important. He is the Tiruvalluvar of the South of India.³⁶ Both emphasised morality as subservient to Politics.

Summary :

1. The king is servant of the people. His duty is to protect them. For that he is paid wages.
2. Both the end and means of the State must be moral. Politics and Ethics are inseparable.
3. Suicide is not commended. It is an anticipation of modern theory of the State.
4. The highest of authority is Righteousness (Dharma). Whatever is in harmony with it is binding, whatever is contradictory unbinding. Thus he rejects the Brahmin authority of Sages.

LALITAVISTARA

The author of this work is unknown. It is regarded as a work of the third century A.D.³⁷

The name itself suggests that it means "details of beautiful life" - of Buddha. It is a continuous narrative in Sanskrit prose interspersed with long metrical pieces in what is called "mixed Sanskrit". It presents the development of the Buddha legend from its earliest beginnings to the deification of Buddha as a god above all gods.³⁸

It is clear that it is not a political work. Its importance to political or social theory is practically nil. It contains here and there passages

describing royalty and the usual splendour attached to it. Being a Buddhist work, it presents the wheel of the Law of Righteousness rolling relentlessly in the king's dominion. Charity is his social and religious obligation. Dharma is his Law. Piety is his handmaid. Enlightenment is his watchword. And the ideal Chakravarti (Sovereign) is a Bodhisattva (enlightened Buddha).

Summary :

1. It illustrates the usual gospel of social obligations in the life of Buddha.

2. At Vaisali there was no respect for age, nor for position, whether high or middle or low; each one there thought "I am a king and I am a king".³⁹ This passage has been taken by many Indian scholars in support of a theory of Republics in Ancient India. I discussed this earlier in "Buddhist Councils". At the most, one could infer from this that democratic ideas prevailed during this period.⁴⁰ It is also an instance of the theory of equality that the Buddhists preached.

ARYA SURA

He belongs to the fourth century A.D. A work attributed to him was translated into Chinese in 434 A.D. He furnishes a good evidence which would enable us to determine the age of Kautilya. He deliberately parades his knowledge of Arthashastra and also condemns it like a true Buddhist.

He is the author of Jataka Mala⁴¹ (the Garland of Birth Stories). This too is not a work on Political Science. All the stories, about thirty-four in number, are derived from the traditional store. But the author modifies them in his narration and adds touches of his own.

Every Jataka writer sketches the life of an ideal monarch. This Jataka Mala contains several such sketches. The king of the Sibis is represented as "distinguished by energy, discretion, majesty and power." He embodied all the virtues pertaining to Dharma, Artha and Kama. The Bodhisattva ruled his subjects as if they were his own children. Aryadeva pictured an ideal monarch in almost the

same terms. He rejoiced at the sight of mendicants whom he could relieve. In all parts of the town he erected alms-houses and provided every kind of grains, goods and utensils. "In this way he poured out the rain of his gifts." Every one got what he wanted - food, drink, couches, seats, dwellings, meals, perfumes, wreaths, silver, gold or anything else. Every one was summoned by proclamation to declare his need.⁴² As king of Kosala, the Bodhisattva displays the same virtues and generosity.⁴³ In the eighth story as King Maitribala, he appears as entering into all the joys and sorrows of his subjects, handling both his sword and his law in the protection of his subjects. His sword was merely an ornament, for other kings waited on him respectfully for orders. He dealt out punishments and rewards without infringing righteousness.⁴⁴

In the ninth story he is shown as mastering the three Vedas (the Hindu Scriptures) and metaphysics.⁴⁵

In the tenth story Bodhisattva, as a universal sovereign, finds his realm afflicted by a famine and is strongly advised by his Brahmana councillors to neutralise the disaster by performing a Vedic Sacrifice. But he would not consent to sacrifice animals, and he gets out of the difficult by proclaiming to assembled townsmen his intention of sacrificing a thousand blackguards and thus leading all to behave righteously. He ends by providing relief to all who were in want of anything.⁴⁶

One could not fail to the subtle humour involved in the above passage. Apart from the general idea conveyed by the passage, it is important in several other respects :

1. The contempt for Brahmin practices is clearly shown.
2. Buddhists, as rationalists and believers in the law of causation, failed to see the causal connection between alleviation of misery caused by famine and the sacrifices. They could see no more than the appeasement of gluttonous appetites of Brahmins, for in those days the Brahmins were meat-eaters.
3. As an example, the Bodhisattva showed his statesmanship by resorting to practical means of alleviation instead of resorting to

sacrifices. Herein lies the contrast between the Buddhist and Brahmanic theory of Politics.

4. Lastly, one could notice the Buddhist doctrine of Ahimsa (non-injury to all sentient beings).

In story thirteen, Arya Sura makes a passionate plea for righteous rule.⁴⁷

In story thirty one, he describes Bodhisattva as an ideal prince.⁴⁸

Arya Sura has a distinct contempt for Political Science. The first of the four references to Political Science in the Jataka Mala which alone needs consideration, occurs in the Maitribala Jataka.⁴⁹ It is said of the king ("Dharmas tasya nayo nanitinikrtih"). Speyer translated this as "Righteousness is the rule of his political actions, not political wisdom, that base science". According to Arya Sura, Raja Dharma (Righteousness) is the policy the king ought to follow, and not base Niti (Political Science).⁵¹

He made many references to Arthasastra as undesirable.⁵¹

At another place, he regards Political Science as a crooked science.⁵²

i

In this respect, as I noted already, he resembles Arya Deva. Uncompromisingly a Buddhist as he is, stern moralist as he is, and humanist as he is, he condemns the Machiavillian Science of Kautilya.⁵³

Summary :

1. He gives a picture of ideal monarchy with its Social obligations, tempered by Buddhism, broadbased on popular consent and exalted by Righteousness (Dharma).

2. He condemns Brahmanic Sacrifices.

3. He is equally unsparing in his condemnation of the usual priest-ridden Statecraft of Kautilya as a base science.

BUDDHAGHOSHA

(Dhammapada Commentary)

The author of this work is traditionally supposed to be Buddhaghosha. This view is much discredited now. The principal works of Buddhaghosha are the "Visuddhi Magga", and the commentaries on the Digha, Majjhima, Samyutta and Anguttara nikayas. The approximate date of "Visuddhi magga" is 410 A.D. Burlingame after a lengthy discussion, concludes that he could not have been the author of this Dhammapada Commentary. Its author is unknown, and it belongs to the fifth century A.D.⁵⁴

This commentary is practically based on Jataka commentary. Both these works cover the same ground as the Jatakas, which I have already examined. The references to political and social theories are very meagre. They portray the same picture of a universal monarch imbued with the laws of piety and goodwill. The usual ministers, commanders, village-heads and priests flit across the legends, giving us a hazy if not an intimate panorama of royal splendour.

I would like to quote one passage which illustrates how kings in those days eavesdropped in disguise to learn what people thought of their rule. It is an interesting story.

"It happend just at this time that the king of Benares made careful examination of his thoughts, words and deeds for the purpose of discovering whether he had been guilty of impropriety. But he reflected, 'A person never sees his own faults; it takes other persons to see them. I will make a tour of the city and listen to what others say about me. When people have eaten supper and have sat down, they gossip and talk about all sorts of things. If I am ruling unjustly, they will say, we are utterly ruined by the punishments, taxes, and other oppressions of our wicked king. If, on the other hand, I am ruling justly (252) they will comment on my good qualities, paying me many compliments and saying, long life to our king.' So at nightfall he put on a disguise and went out to the city, walking close to the walls of their houses."⁵⁵

Summary :

The prevailing form of government as depicted in this commentary is monarchy. It is not absolute. It is checked by various means :

1. It is based on popular consent.
2. The ministers, the priests, the learned poets and counsellors, exercised an influence on the kings with their 'sage wisdom'.
3. Lastly, he is bound by the Law of Righteousness, Dharma pravarta. The wheel of the Law of Buddha is the final Law, and limited the powers of the kings.⁵⁶

NOTES :

1. Beni Prasad "The Theory of Government in Ancient India" Allahabad, 1927, p. 219.
2. "Sociological Review", July 1929. p. 203.
3. Like Keith and Kern.
4. A.A. Macdonnel. "India's Past" p. 102. This is also the view of E. Johnston. His edition of the book p. VI. Introduction.
5. Saundara Nandam Kavyam Ed. by M. ? Hara Prasad Sastri Bibliotheca Indica Series (New) No. 1251. Calcutta 1910. See Canto I p.p. 7-8; Canto II. p. 9.
6. Sutralankara Traduit En Rancais Sur la Version Chinoise de Kumarajiva par Edourd Huber 1908.
7. Buddhacharitra ii Saundara Nandam Kavyam ii.
8. The four Upayas is the Common Stock phrase of Hindu Politics. It is Sama (conciliation), Dana (gift), Bheda (differences) and Danda (punishment).
9. Punjab University oriental Publication. Another edition the Saundarananda of Asvagosha. Critically edited with notes by E.H. Johnston xv & 175 pp. 1928. These are the only two editions I know. Both are not perfect.
10. We might observe that the theory of divine origin is "first hinted at in the later Vedic literature and afterwards elaborated in the Epics, Smritis and Puranas", R Banerjee; "Public Administration in Ancient India," p. 143-144.
11. Buddha Charitra I, 12.
12. Ibid I, 14.
13. Buddha Charitra II, 24.
14. Buddha Charitra II, 42, 44,
15. "This great Buddhist, who apparently lived in the second century of our era, was a poet, musician, scholar, religious controversialist, and a jealous Buddhist monk, orthodox in creed and a strict observer of discipline". Walters : quoted by V.A. Smith "Early History of India", p. 276. 4th Edition. 1924.
16. "Castes in Punjab" by Sir Ibbets, p. 4.
17. Public et traduit par M.M. Wilkinson et Hodgson, avec une defense des castes par un brahmane contemporain. 1839.
18. M.E. Burnouf introduction a l'histoire du Bouddhisme : Paris, 1844 : Il y a eu recemment une nouvelle edition de l'histoire du bouddhisme. Paris 1876, Vol. 3 p. 216.
19. R Janet "Histoire de la science Politique." Tome Premier. Paris 1887. p. 23.
20. "Buddhist India" Journal - London: Vol. 1 No. 4. p. 318. (A modern translation is given here).
(The following are standard translations into English of all these texts in Sacred Books of the East Series : Edited by Max Muller.)
21. IV 2, 1-5.
22. XIII 5, 4, 6.
23. Manu Samhita X, 12.

24. Jatakas, 73.432. See Hemachandra Roy Chaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, 1923. p. 84.
25. I discussed "Buddha's attacks on caste" in detail in an earlier chapter.
26. G.K. Nariman "Literary History of Sanscrit, Buddhism from Winternitz, Sylvain Levi, Haber", Bombay, 1920. p. 36-40, p. 200-201. See also H.H. Wilson "Indian Caste" - a rare copy - p. 296. et seq.
27. U. Ghoshal "A History of Hindu Political theories" 1923, p. 209-212.
28. Op. cit., p. 219.
29. A.B. Keith "A History of Sanscrit Literature", 1928. p. 71.
30. A.A. Macdonnei "India's Past" 1927. p. 178. VA. Smith, "Early History of India", 1924. p. 27 I-Tsing. 671-695 A.D.
31. A.A. Macdonnei "India's Past" p. 63.
32. Edited by Hara Prasad Sastri in Bibliotheca Indica Series.
33. Chatuhsatika p. 461.
34. S. Radhakrishnan "Indian Philosophy" 1923. Vol. I. p. 429.
35. Chatuhsatika p.p. 462-464.
36. Tiruvalluvar is the author of "Kural". He lived in about the second century A.D. His work is invaluable to students of political and social ideas. I have discussed him at length in my paper on "Political Thought in Dravidian Literatures."
37. Sir Hari Singh Gour "The Spirit of Buddhism" 1929. p. 32.
38. Macdonnel's "India's Past", p. 62. Keith says that the work may, in the main, belong to the period from second century A.D. "A History of Sanskrit", p. 493.
39. Ed. Lefmann Vol. 1. p. 21.
40. Ed. S. Loeffmann, Halle, 1902-8. Translated by F Fowcaux. Annales du Masee du Guimet. VI and XIX.
41. The Jataka Mala by Arya Sura. Edited by H. Keren. 1891. (Harvard Oriental Series) Volume I. Sanskrit Text.
42. Jataka Mala Story II. Speyer's Translation p. 8-14.
43. Ibid. Story III. p. 20.
44. Ibid. Story VIII. p. 56.
45. Ibid. Story IX p. 71-92.
46. Ibid. Story X p. 93-104.
47. Ibid. Story 13.
48. Ibid. Story 31 p. 292.
49. Ibid. Story 8 Verse 14.
50. Ibid. Story 8 Verse 2 and Story XI Verse 3.
51. Ibid. Story 9 Vis vant asea jataka Verse 10.
52. Ibid. Story 31 Sutasoma jataka XXXI Verses 52-55.
53. E.H. Johnston. "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society." January, 1929. First quarter "Studies in Artha Sastra".
54. Harvard Oriental Series. "Buddhist Legends" three parts (Vols. 28-30) E.W. Burlingame. 1921. Introduction First Part p. 58.
55. Ibid. Book II. Story 3. Sec. c. p. 306.
56. Every one of these legends illustrate the above conclusions.

2. BUDDHIST WRITERS IN THE SOUTH OF INDIA

INTRODUCTION

No history of Political and Social ideas of Buddhism would be complete without some consideration of Buddhist writers in the South of India. Hitherto this aspect of Southern history has not received the attention of European and Indian scholars. Three reasons can be adduced for such an attitude :

The first is due to the excitement caused in the European world by the re-discovery of Sanskrit language in the nineteenth century. Hence all scholars confined their studies to the North, ignoring the Southern aspects.

Most historians start from the North, alleging that no materials exist for the proper treatment of South Indian History. In the words of Elphinstone¹, no connected relation of the national transactions of South India in remote times can be written. In the words of V.A. Smith², an exact chronological narrative of the purely political history of the Tamil Kingdoms previous to 900 A.D. cannot be written at present, and it is probable that such a history cannot be written at any time. He at the same time, does not wish to be understood that the early history of the South is either wholly inaccessible or devoid of interest. He further adds,³ "On the contrary, I believe that if we can be content to dispense with precise chronology materials exist for the reconstruction into small measure of the history of that kind, when worked out by scholars adequately skilled in the languages, literatures and customs of the Dravidian peoples, will be of essential service to the historian of India as a whole, and will enable the student of the development of Indian civilization to see his subject in true perspective"⁴

Since the times of Elphinstone and Smith, materials have increased, and there is a growing literature contributed by a band of Tamil Scholars. Besides, chronology has been raised to a scientific basis, and the earliest Tamil classics have been systematically edited,

studied and explored to yield more information on the early history. The age of the Tamil Academy (Sangam) is now firmly established by the able and indefatigable researches of Professor S.K. Ayengar and others. More resources are available than before. Archaeological resources are abundant. Exploration of ancient literature is rapidly going on. Epigraphic sources are multiplying, and specialists are adding to the knowledge of the subject day by day. The time is now ripe for a revolutionary treatment of the subject, and the old fashion must give place to the new.

We still read in the words of Beni Prasad,⁵ "In relation to political institutions the southern material does not carry us beyond the period which is fairly illumined by northern evidence. If it did, it would be necessary to preface any political survey of the north with a chapter on the South. As it is, even the score of inscriptions discovered in the South a few months ago did not touch the other side of the Christian era. A discussion of Hindu political institutions must still start from the north."

This statement needs no strong refutation in view of the recent researches. The 'Local Government of Ancient India'⁶ bears on every page the stamp of southern material. So does 'the History of Ancient Indian Shipping and Commerce'⁷ 'The Cambridge Ancient History of India'⁸ further supports the abundance and antiquity of Southern material. The Southern material does carry beyond the period which is fairly illuminated by northern evidence. Whether the material is sufficient to enable one to preface any political survey of the north with a chapter on the South is a different thing. The researches of Eliot Smith,⁹ Ragazoni,¹⁰ Fergusson,¹¹ Perry,¹² and others point that the Dravidian civilisation is the oldest and in touch with the Egyptian, Babylonian and Roman civilisations of the west. There was in India, at the time of the Aryan invasions, a Dravidian civilization of a more elaborate and developed character than Aryan.¹³ It was linked to Egypt and Mesopotamia by commerce.¹⁴ Shama Sastri throws a suggestion that the religious, social and political customs of Dasyus had been incorporated by the Aryans.¹⁵

Moreover, the northern material too, from the point of view of strict chronology, does not carry us much earlier. When such is the case, why begin from the north? How more scientific would it be if we start a discussion of the Hindu political ideas as a whole, taking in the southern material in its proper perspective and place? This whole view is to be modified in view of the discoveries at Mohenjodaro and Harappa,¹⁶ which tend to show features of both the cultures, Aryan and Dravidian.

Thirdly, there is a school which maintains that South India failed to make any original contribution to the stock of political ideas. Hence, any history of political ideas and institutions must start from the north.¹⁷

This needs a careful examination. Much of the force of this argument is lost if we remember that at the dawn of the Christian era, there was neither true Aryan nor true Dravidian, but only a Hindu. There has been a fusion, racial, philological and cultural. Naturally the stock of ideas will be common to all. They will be the product of an interplay of action and reaction and the result of a common heritage effected by fusion.

Even in the north there was no distinct original political thought after Kautilya. Kamandaka's "Niti Sara" (9th century A.D.) is avowedly an abridgment of Artha Sastra. Soma Deva Suri's "Niti Vakyamrita", (10th century A.D.), Nilakantha Bhatta's "Niti Mayukha", (16th century A.D.) and Mitra Misra's "Raja Niti Prakasika", (16th century A.D.), are all based on Artha Sastra. They are interpolations, additions, and subtractions, and all draw their materials from Kautilya and his predecessors. We must look to pre-Kautilyan age for any distinct original political thought. Why, then, expect that from South India?

Moreover, how could the races - Pandyas, Cholas, Cheras, Pallavas, Andhras - fail to contribute to the stock of political ideas? It has been maintained by almost all the scholars that supreme contribution to the field of political science by the Dravidians, has been in the realm of Local Self-Government.¹⁸ Kural¹⁹ of Tiruvalluvar (Southern Work) is different from Artha Sastra. It advocated a higher

morality to be pursued as an end of the State. Tiruvalluvar was regarded as the Arya-Deva of the south. The ends of the State must be realized by rigid adherence to strict morality. Not so with Kautilya. His State is Machiavellian, and Machiavelli would not have written his "Prince", if he had read "Artha Sastra". Is this not a distinct contribution of "Kural" to an age of Machiavellenism?

With such a background of this kind, I turned to the works of Jayaswal,²⁰ Law,²¹ Ghoshal,²² Sen,²³ Banerjea,²⁴ and not one of them paid due regard to the southern aspects. Banerjea while speaking of Kolarians and Dravidians, says that it would be out of place if he were to deal with them at length.²⁵ I cannot understand how it could be so, how public administration of Ancient India could be described with any fullness or comprehension without discussing the framework of the ancient kingdoms of Tamilakam (South), the ancient monarchic constitution of Lanka (Ceylon) and of the still more ancient Society which withstood the Aryan immigration, absorbed and assimilated its culture, and gave in turn its own distinctive features.

On the other hand, some writers have utilised Tamil and South Indian data in their works, giving them its due place.²⁶

The need for such a treatment has been voiced by many scholars. Professor Sundaram Pillai says :

"The Scientific historians of India ought to begin their studies with the basin of Krishna, of the Kaveri, of the Vengi, rather than with the Gangetic plain, as it has been now long, too long, the fashion²⁷" And Vincent Smith emphasises that due regard should be, paid to the non-Aryan element.²⁸

Already the learned researchers of Fleet²⁹, Bhandarkar³⁰, Kielhorn³¹, Hultzsch³², Sewell³³, Elliot³⁴, and Jeaveau Dubreuil³⁵, have thrown light on the early history of the Deccan. Andhra history is a comparatively more untrodden field. Mr. C.V. Rao has done pioneer work by publishing his work "History of the Andhras", brilliantly written, in three volumes.³⁶ To these can be added the yeoman researches of a band of Tamil scholars, especially after the war. (1914-'18).

Moreover, South India abounds in archaeological remains, monuments, and inscriptions which throw a great light on its history. The history of Pallavas which is still obscure, is slowly being unearthed.³⁷ The recent discoveries of Hirananda Sastri and Hamind in February 18, 1927, throw light on the history of the unknown dynasty of Ikshavakus, which came from the north and settled in the Andhra country.

Summing up, materials exist for the reconstruction of South Indian History.³⁸ It is yet a subject for research and must continue to be so for a decade more. It is not that I could present the earliest history of Dravidian Political ideas in all its perfection that I discussed this topic, but with a view to present the Southern aspects, however unoriginal and individual they might be.

With this intention and with all the short-comings at hand, I feel it imperative to present a brief survey of Political and social ideas of Buddhist writers of the Early Christian era in South India.³⁹

I know only two writers who fall within this period, that are avowedly Buddhistic. They are Prince Ilango-Adigal, the author of "Silappadikaram", and his friend Sittalai Sattan, the author of "Manimekhalai".

"SILAPPADIKARAM"

Author : The author of this Tamil classic was Prince Ilango-Adigal. He was the younger brother of the great Chera ruler, Senguttuvan.⁴⁰ Prince Ilango became an ascetic in the end. He was the friend of Sittalai Sattan, author of another Tamil classic, "Manimekhalai".

Date : There is a great controversy as to whether this work can be regarded as a Sangam (Academy) work.⁴¹ It has not the Sangam imprimatur. In spite of it, it is regarded as a Sangam work, at least as a product of the age of Sangam activity. The age of Sangam is very obscure. The late Mr. V. Venkayya, epigraphist to the Government of India, was willing to admit the age of Sangam to be second century A.D. Kanaka Sabbhai Pillai was also of the same opinion.⁴² On the other hand, L.D. Swami Kannu Pallai⁴³, R. Saminatha Iyer⁴⁴, Subramania Iyer⁴⁵, Rama Swami Iyengar⁴⁶ gave different dates

ranging from fourth century A.D. to seventh century A.D. Professor H. Jacobi of Bonn University assigns the Sixth century A.D. The whole question has been ably discussed by Dr. S.K. Iyengar⁴⁷. He thinks that the age of Sangam must be anterior to that of the Pallavas and arrives at the second century A.D., as the probable age of Sangam activity.

Nature and Scope of the work : The scene of action was laid at Madura and Pandyan country. It gives an idealised description of the actual occurrences in the life of the hero. Taken cautiously, we can sift some historical truths from this poem. It features the times of Karikal the great.⁴⁸

Extracts which Relate to Political and Social Ideas :

1. From that memorable day on which Kovilan was beheaded, there was no rain in the Pandyan Kingdom. Famine, fever and small-pox smote the people sorely. The king was very much grieved and he was advised to make sacrifices after propitiating the Gods. We read in the poem that after so doing : "Copious showers of rain then fell, and the famine and pestilence disappeared from the Kingdom." Kosar, King of Kongu, Gaja Bahu, King of Lanka and Perunkelli, the Chola, erected temples and performed festivals in honour of the Goddess, and their Kingdoms were blest with rain and abundant crops.⁴⁹

Seasonal rains and absence of famine and pestilence are always regarded in Indian literature as tokens of the prosperity of a good kingdom. When the King rules his kingdom against Dharma,⁵⁰ rains cease, famines and pestilence prevail and the kingdom is ruined. This is also well described in Jataka Stories.⁵¹ Tiruvalluvar spoke of it in Kural.⁵² All works on "Niti" speak about this.⁵³

2. "He started from his palace surrounded by an imposing cavalcade, consisting of the chief officers of the State, the five great assemblies, the eight groups of attendants and the nobility and gentry of the city mounted on horses, elephants and chariots, and proceeded to the banks of the Kaveri,"⁵⁴

Later in the same poem, we read of "high priests, ministers and other officers of State".

We gather from these that the head of the State is the King, surrounded by all majesty and power. His power is not absolute or despotic. It is restricted by "five great assemblies". They are called Aimberungulu.

The five assemblies, according to an unknown commentator of this work (Arumbatha vuraiaisiriyar) consisted of the representatives of the people (Majanam), priests (parpar), physicians (muruththar), astrologers of augurs (Nemethat), and ministers (Amaichchar). The assembly of representatives safeguard the rights and privileges of the people; that of the priests, directed religious ceremonies; that of the physicians attended to all matters affecting the health of the king and his subjects; that of the astrologers fixed auspicious times for public ceremonies and predicted important events. The assembly of ministers attended to the collection and expenditure of the revenue and administration of justice. Separate places were assigned in the capital town for each of these assemblies for their meeting and transaction of business.⁵⁵

According to another commentator, the assemblies consisted of ministers, priests, commanders (Senapathis), ambassadors (Thoothyvar), and spies (Charanar). In addition to the five great assemblies, there was another assembly, Emberayam. According to Adiyarkunallar, this body consisted of executive officers (Karanalhiyalavar), priests (Karumavilkikal), treasury officials (Kanakachchurram), palace guards (Kadaikappalar), great men of the city (Nakara manthar), captain of troops (Nanipadai-Halaivar), elephant warriors (Yanivirar) and cavalry officers (Evulimarvar).⁵⁶

R.C. Mazumdar thinks that these five great assemblies are really five great committees of one assembly.⁵⁷

The King was attended by eight groups of attendants: perfumers, garland-makers, betel-bearers, arecanut-servers, armourers, dressing valets, torch or light bearers and body guards.⁵⁸ This is really a picture of oriental Durbar.

We also gather from this poem about the principal officers of the State. They are the high priests, the chief accountants, judges and commanders.⁵⁹ This order of precedence is exactly analogous to that given in "Niti Sara", by Sukra.

"Rash King, I have to speak to you," began Kannaki, the heroine of the story utterly unable to control her anger, her voice broken by sobs. "I come from Pukar, the kings of which city are famous for impartial justice. One of them cut off the flesh from his own body to save a dove. Another drove his chariot over his dear son because he killed a calf."⁶⁰

The above quotation is an idealised poetical picture of ancient monarchs administering justice. It is not certainly a historical fact, but the idea is there that monarchs should render strict and impartial justice. Secondly, the above passage illustrates the compassion shown to animals. Here the influence of Buddhism is clearly shown.

"Lady", responded the King, "it is no injustice to kill a thief, but it is the right of the ruler of a country."⁶¹ The same idea is expressed in Kural, Niti Saras of Sukra and Kamandaka, and Manu. It is the duty of the King to weed out the undesirable.⁶²

In the story, we find that Kovilan was unjustly executed for a crime he did not commit. The king on hearing that, said with deep humility and remorse, "No king am I, who believed the words of my goldsmith. I am the thief. I have done an act which sullies the fair name of the long line of kings who ruled the southern land. Better for me it is to die than to bear the disgrace!" So saying, he swooned on the throne.⁶³

This is a Buddhist portrait of an ideal King. We read in Indian literature constant exhortations to the king to examine the case thoroughly before he could pronounce judgments. When he failed to do so, the remorse he felt is understandable. Besides, Kovilan was beheaded for a supposed theft of an anklet. From this we infer that punishment for trivial offences was very severe.⁶⁴

The orders of the King which concerned the people were proclaimed throughout his capital city with the beat of drums, by

officers riding on elephants.⁶⁵ This is the traditional Hindu method of publicity. We find similar ideas in Kautilya, Sukra and Tiruvalluvar. The greatest example of it is Asoka. His edicts and inscriptions proclaim loudly his publicity methods. Here we find an approximation of theory and practice. This is important in another way. It shows the absence of legislation, which I will discuss later on.

This system of government prevailed in the three kingdoms of Pandya, Chola and Chera, although they were quite independent of each other.

3. We find mention of 'seven Buddhist viharas'.⁶⁶ Buddhism gradually spread into South India by this time, and in "Manimekhalai" we find it was popularly embraced by the people. Its ideas of revolt against tradition, authority and revelation, its ideas relating to the organisation of monasteries and its onslaughts against caste are slowly being infused into the masses. We also find mention of Jain monasteries and nuns. Women could become nuns. We meet "Vishnu worshippers, Kali worshippers and hear the chant of Vedic hymns, all in the same city".

What do all these indicate? They indicate unmistakably the degree of toleration which prevailed in those days. Spiritual freedom is the prerogative of a Hindu. That is why India abounds in diversity of creeds. At a time when toleration was unknown in Europe it is gratifying to note that absolute religious freedom prevailed in India at the dawn of the Christian Era.

4. Lastly, the poem gives an insight into town-planning in ancient Tamilakam.⁶⁷ We find streets where shepherds, courtesans and merchants lived.⁶⁸ Society was divided according to occupations. We find no mention of caste. Each group lived in separate quarters. Here we have the division of Society on functional basis.

It is difficult to judge how far these ideas were indigenous to South India, and how far they were influenced by the infusion of Sanskrit culture. Suffice it to say that there has been a good contact between the two cultures* and ideas of kingship, justice, and toleration made many sojourns over the length and breadth of India, leaving a lasting influence on the minds of men.⁶⁹

Conclusion : We come to the following conclusions :

1. The rulers held before them high Ideals. The measure of their prosperity was judged by the presence of copious crops and plentiful rains in season and absence of famine and fever, pestilence and plague. That was the test of a good government. Shorn of its theological image, it symbolises a notion, a concept that the uprightness and prosperity of a kingdom depend on the wise rule of a king.

2. We arrive at the concept of limited monarchy. It is not absolute. The five great assemblies, the high priests and other officers of the State were the constitutional checks upon the supposed depotism of the King.

3. We find the notion of tolerance. We could meet a Kali worshipper, a Vishnu worshipper, see a Buddhist vihara, a Jain monastery and hear the chant of Vedic hymns, all in one city without any jealousy or bitterness amongst them.

4. We find the division of society into groups on functional lines. We see the merchants, courtesans, shepherds and goldsmiths, all living in separate quarters and carrying on their occupations amicably.

5. Lastly we have the Hindu methods of publicity. All orders are to be proclaimed and placed at important bye-ways for the enlightenment of people. This is a good civic education of the citizens.

“MANIMEKHALAI”

. This is a poem included among the five great Kavyas (Heroic Poems) of Tamil Literature, like Silappadikaram.

Author : The author of this poem is stated to be Sittalai-Sattan, a grain merchant of Madura. He is stated to have been on friendly terms with the Chera ruler, Senguttuvan, and on close terms of appreciative intimacy with his younger brother, Illango, the author of Silappadikaram.

Date : The same difficulty presents itself here as in Silappadikaram. This work is the product of the age of Senguttuvan Chera, when he was the dominant ruler of South India. This is

supposed to be the same age as Sangam, probably the second century A.D.

Nature and Scope of the work : It is a work of classical excellence in Tamil Literature. It bears great affinity to Silappadikaram. It deals with Chola, and Chera countries and the town of Kanchi. It can also be regarded as an historical work, leaving out the miracles mentioned in the poem, as in Shakespere's historical plays.

Extracts Relating to Political and Social Ideas :

(A) "Sovereigns in the land of Bharata were far famed for unswerving righteousness." ⁷⁰ "The King... strict in administering justice, transformed the state prison into a house of charity". ⁷¹

"If the King changes from righteousness ever so little, planets themselves will move out of their orbits. If planets change their course, rainfall will diminish. With shortage of rainfall, all life on earth will cease. The King will often cease to be regarded as King." ⁷²

"May the planets follow their course because of the righteousness of sovereigns." ⁷³

"Since the birth of this ruler, Punya Raja, rains have never failed. Earth and trees have always yielded plenty, and living beings have had no taste of wasting disease." ⁷⁴

"Whether I should be born among the Gods or in the Brahma world, I shall never give up the maintenance and protection of living beings," ⁷⁵ says the King.

"If Kings themselves adopt the rule of charity, what is there to keep under control? (This is rather difficult to translate). If you should ask what is the supreme form of charity, bear this carefully in mind, that it is the maintenance of all living creatures with food and clothing and places to live in safely."

The King said in reply: "Be it in my Kingdom or in that of others, I shall adopt the path of charity as described by you." ⁷⁶

"The rigid observances of Rishis and the charity of good women will have no chance of existence, if they do not receive efficient protection from the King." ⁷⁷

From these extracts we gather a picture of monarchy and its political and social obligations. The picture is idealised, and perhaps too idealistic to be regarded as a historical fact. Ideas govern out actions. They are the fore-runners and harbingers of actions. They influence facts. However unrelated to facts, they are ideas, and it is with ideas as bedrocks of institutions that I am concerned in this thesis.

This work is avowedly a Buddhist work. We can see the influence of Buddhism in every line. Here we have an idealised picture of a Buddhist Chakravarti.⁷⁸ What are his social and political obligations? He must be unswervingly righteous, and strict in administering justice. If he fails to do so, planets will go out of their course, and rains cease. This idea is illustrated in most Jataka stories. This is typically an oriental idea. The absence of rain in Isreal was ascribed to tribal or national sin.⁷⁹ A King must maintain and protect all living beings. He must be charitable. The supreme form of charity is the maintenance of all living creatures with food and clothing and places to live in safety. These emphasise again the absence of legislation, hence we note the abundance of these pious platitudes.

(B) We find mention, like in Silappadikaram, of five bodies of ministers and eight bodies of officials of varying degrees.⁸⁰ This passage is very obscure. We have no other evidence to know about this more fully.

(C) The prisoners were ill-fed, and pinched with hunger. Manimekhalai addressed the King thus : "Only destroy the prison-house and erect there is its stead, with kindness of heart, tenements, useful for those that follow the path of Dharma."⁸¹ The King ordered accordingly. The prisoners were set free. The premises of the State prison were now occupied by a shrine for the teacher of truth; residential rooms for those that practised charity; halls for cooking and dining provided with everything required for living and security.⁸² This passage is important for two reasons. Firstly, it tells us that prison administration in those days was very severe, and secondly that Buddhism effected a great change in its administration.

(D) "He rose up to the dignity of receiving titles and insignia from the monarch, thus becoming a titled dignitary of sixty years".⁸³ This shows that the King is the source and fountain of all honours.

(E) "Vasavanti had the privilege of instructing the King, the prince, as well as the ladies of the royal house-hold in what was good, what was approved of the learned.....",⁸⁴ Here we have the traditional Hindu notion of the Royal house-hold being instructed in Raja or Danda Niti. All Hindu treatises on Political Science speak of this.

(F) The law allows seven days' time for the King to punish an offender. If he fails to do so by that time, then it would be Dharma's turn to inflict punishment.⁸⁵ Justice was administered quickly. Tiruvalluvar speaks of the dangers of law's delay in Kural. This was also the practice during the time of Asoka. I would like Mr. Mac Phail to read these classics and Asokan edicts, when he will revise his opinion of the oriental slowness and delay of administering justice.⁸⁶

(G) Kings met their death in winning victories, in protecting their subjects and in annexing the kingdoms of inimicably - disposed neighbours, and if perchance, they died of age without falling in battle like warriors, they were given a hero's death, their body being laid on a bed of sacrificial grass and cut in two, as they fell in battle.⁸⁷ To die in a battle field is the height of a king's ambition. The kings were not only rulers, but warriors in those days.

(H) The King begged his minister to bear the responsibility, for a month, of protecting his Kingdom and conducting its administration.⁸⁸ It was usual for the kings to leave the charge of their kingdoms in the hands of their ministers.

(I) We find mention of "Ganas" (groups).⁸⁹ These Ganas may be the self-governing groups organised on functional lines. We also meet similar Ganas in Silappadikaram.

(J) We also find "Kottam" and "Naga Nadu" mentioned in the poem.⁹⁰ These refer to the territorial divisions of ancient Tamilakam (the abode of Tamils). A nadu is a province. A kottam is a combination of provinces.

(K) We find mention of Buddha who preached the Law and purified the heart of Naga Kings who had been previously fighting with one another. The Wheel of Law (Dharma Chakra) pervades everywhere and moves all things in order and for ever. Chakra (wheel) is the emblem of rule and government with all Hindus, and the Sanskrit Koshas (Dictionaries) give Rashtra (Kingdom) as one of the meanings of Chakra. The epithet "apratihata chakra" ("he whose wheel is rule is unopposed") is commonly given to kings in inscriptions, and there are hundreds of passages in epic and classical poetry in which the Chakra of Kings is mentioned. Nor are the compound "Dharma Chakra" (the rule of sacred law) and the familiar phrase "dharma chakram pravartayati", (he sets in motion the wheel of law, i.e. causes the rule of law to spread) wanting in Brahmanic literature. The larger St. Peters Dictionary quotes several passages from the Maha Bharata.

It is said of Buddhism (Dharma Chakra Pravartata), "The rule of Law continued which Bhishma established in the kingdom."

Buddha used the Sanskrit phraseology to convey his thought. He was no innovator. He only poured new wine into old bottles. The ideal monarch, the Chakravarti, is a King of Kings, irresistible and mighty, who rules in righteousness over a happy people. He is often described in Buddhist Suttas as "a King of Kings, a righteous man who ruled in righteousness, lord of the four quarters of the earth, invincible, the protector of his people, possessor of the seven royal treasures". He is, a "personification of power and justice". He is the ideal of a perfectly wise man.⁹¹

This passage is also valuable as a record of the extent to which Buddhism had spread in Southern India, Ceylon, and Sumatra in the early part of the second century A.D., and its value is enhanced by the fact that it is much older than the Chinese works of Fahian and Huan Tsang, and Pali Chronicles Dipavamsa and Mahavamsa of Ceylon.⁹²

(L) "Youth does not last; beauty does not last; growing great in wealth does not last either, nor do children give heaven. The only

thing that goes with us is *the good that we can do in this life*. There is no greater charity than that of feeding the people.”⁹³ We can find the doctrine of self-help and effort-essentially Buddhistic - in this passage.

(M) This poem gives an interesting account of the caste in South India in those days. The boy said, “Why do you kill an innocent cow?”⁹⁴ The Brahmin said, “Not knowing the sacred books revealed to us by Brahma, you have reviled us. You are verily the son of a beast.”

“Asalan was the son of a deer; Siringi was the son of a cow; Vrinji was the son of a tiger; Kesakambalam was the son of a fox,⁹⁵ and these you honour as your sages. Why do you spurn me as the son of a beast?” retorted the youth.

“I know the birth of this boy”, said one of the Brahmins in indignant tones. “He is the son of Sali, the wife of a Vedic teacher of Varanasi, who, having behaved in a manner unbecoming a Brahmin woman and afraid of punishment, came away with pilgrims bound to Kamari and there gave birth to a child near a shepherd’s village, and abandoned it. This boy is that child Touch him not, he is a bastard.”

“I shall tell you the origin of the Brahmins”, replied the boy with a scornful laugh. “Were not two of your patriarchs the sons of Brahma by a celestial courtesan? Is this not true? How can you speak ill of Sali?”

This passage is of great importance for three reasons. Firstly, it speaks against cow-killing. The Brahmins of Ancient India seem to have a peculiar taste for cows’ meat. It was left to Buddha and Mahavira to denounce this wholesale slaughter. It also speaks indirectly against the inefficacy of sacrifices. It is surprising how later Brahmanism disregarded the Vedic hymns in praise of the cow.⁹⁶ Gandhi in almost poetical rhapsody said that the protection of the cow is the supreme contribution of India to the culture of the world.”⁹⁷ Buddhism has been successful in this respect, but later Brahmanism did away with this practice.

Secondly, it is important for its discussion on caste. Ancient South India knew no caste. The oldest Tamil work, *Tolkappiyam*, does not mention any castes. Rig Vedic classes and Manu's Compound castes are unknown. There existed a transmutable, plastic, and barrierless professional distinction. In other words, the Dravidian organization of Society before the Aryan colonization was totemistic.⁹⁸ Caste, as we understand today, came of later date by about the early Christian Era as in North India. However, there were periodic outbursts against it. In addition to the two books which I am discussing, *Kural* in the first century A.D., *Naladiyar* in the eighth century A.D., *Basavalinga* in the twelfth century A.D., *Sarvajna* and *Vemana* in the sixteenth century A.D., all thundered against the inequality of caste. Gandhiji too was against its spirit, but alas, he retains the form and content of caste. While Buddha, with his Platonic dialogues, his subtle humour, his pungent irony, the eloquence of Cicero, the psychology of Seneca, and the fervour of Christian Fathers, condemned, refused and denounced it, its contents, its forms⁹⁹.... So did Asvaghosha. Even in the case of Northern India, Aufrecht, Benfey, M. Muller, Muir, Roth, Weber and Limmer (Vedic Scholars) are of opinion that the later Brahmanic social organization was unknown to the Vedic people. This view is endorsed by Senart, Macdonell, Von Schroeder and Kaegi. On the other hand, Haug, Kern and Ludwig maintain the opposite view, and they have been supported by Oldenburg, Geldner and Keith.¹⁰⁰ However, quite independently Rhys Davids - the great Pali scholars - have come to the conclusion that caste was in the making by about the seventh century B.C. I think it is a correct statement, as these two texts amply bear out. It is evident from this that birth was not the criterion by which a Brahmin was to be judged. Buddhism exercised a great influence, aided and led this movement of revolt against caste.

Thirdly, this passage throws light on the methods employed by Brahmins and Buddhists. The Buddhists, represented by the youth in the passage quoted above, stand for rationalism. The Brahmin stands for authority and sacred books. Keith, Kern and Professor Radhakrishnan deny rationalism to Buddhists. This passage alone would correct them.

Well may Mahavira (founder of Jainism) preach, and Buddha thunder against caste, it was Brahmanism that later ruled and reigned.

(N) In this sea-girt earth, five things have been condemned by the really wise. Among these drink, untruth, theft and murder can be brought under control, but worst of all and very difficult to get rid of was passion.¹⁰¹ Here we have the ethical concept of a State. In an ideal State, the five sins mentioned above are absent and where it is the moral obligation of the King and the subjects to conquer passion. A similar idea is voiced in Apastamba¹⁰² and Bhagavadgita.¹⁰³ We still see the connection between Ethics and Politics.

(O) Lastly, we can glean a few ideas about the position of women from this poem. Women mixed freely, though modestly, in the business and amusements of social life. In towns and cities women of the poorer classes were employed as hawkers, vendors and shop-keepers, or as servants in rich households; and in villages they worked in the fields and gardens along with men, and shared their hardships. The ladies of the higher classes were more confined to their homes, but they were not secluded from society. From the queen downwards, every woman visited the temples. During the evenings, they came out on the terraces of their houses and saw the scenes in the street, and on festive occasions they joined the processions and went out to invite their friends and relations.¹⁰⁴ How far this relative freedom is due to Buddhism is very difficult to say. Buddha reluctantly admitted women to the Samgha¹⁰⁵ due to the efforts of Ananda. His fears were amply justified later, for the Samghas became centres of corruption. Nevertheless, Buddha honoured women as equals. If Buddha were alive, this is what he would say regarding the position of the women in the Veda : "There was no worthy place for the woman worshipper, save as an instrument of passion, and as mother she did not count save as worker".¹⁰⁶ This indeed is Vedic. On another occasion Buddha himself says, "A daughter may be better than a son if she is intelligent, virtuous, devoted to her husband and parents-in-law. She may even rule a Kingdom."¹⁰⁷ The issue of such

a good daughter may become a hero and ruler of some countries.”¹⁰⁸ What a contrast to the Brahmanic theory which extols the birth of a son? Even today an orthodox Hindu rejoices over the birth of a son and wails over the birth of a daughter. Manu,¹⁰⁹ the Brahmin Legist, says that women should never have recourse to independence.

Besides, Buddhist literature abounds with instances of learned women. The Samyutta Nikaya¹¹⁰ refers to a woman who had the power of oratory. It says that Sukka, a bhikkhuni (nun), delivered a religious sermon to a big audience at Rajagaha. The Makkhima Nikaya¹¹¹ speaks of Dharma-sinna a learned woman well versed in Buddhist philosophy. Buddhism could boast of a Rohini, Sundari and Subha.¹¹²

In the case of South India, I am not able to get evidence regarding the exact position of women, so far as this period is concerned. But Megasthenes, the Greek writer, refers to Queen Pandaia (probably Pandyan) who ruled the Southern land.¹¹³

These two poems form together a Mahakavya. One of the essentials of a Mahakavya is, it must contain Raja-Varnana, a description of Royalty. They both contain such a description. Both exalt Buddhism, particularly Manimekhalai. They treat of the contemporary rulers of the three Kingdoms of the South.

Conclusion :

1. We have Buddhist conceptions of ideal Chakravarti and State.
2. The connection between a good government and prosperity is measured by the presence of seasonal rains and absence of diseases, as in Silappadikaram.
3. The King is the source and fountain of all honours. He is instructed in Niti. It is usual to devolve administration on ministers when they are pressed to attend to other affairs.
4. The Kings are not only rulers but also warriors.
5. Justice is dealt with swiftly. All preliminary considerations must be weighed cautiously before judgement is pronounced.

6. Charity is the social obligation of Kings. It is the duty *of* the King to maintain the poor with food and clothing, and to provide places to live in safely.

7. Women enjoyed relative freedom.¹¹⁴

8. Caste was repudiated. The doctrine of equality of birth is vigorously discussed. It is not birth that makes men unequal, but their actions. This discussion of equality echoes the doctrines of Cicero, Seneca and the early Christian Fathers.

NOTES :

1. Elphinstone, M.S. "History of India" Cowell Ed, 9. 1905. Chap. II. 8.
2. Smith V.A. "Early History of India" 3rd Ed. 1914. p. 7 & 8.
3. Smith V.A. "Early History of India" 3rd Ed. 1914. p. 7 & 8.
4. The only scholar who would fit in this description is Professor S.K. Aiyangar who was the Professor of Indian History at the University of Madras. He recently retired. He merited the encomiums of German, English and other European scholars for his able and brilliant researches. All his works are in English and I consulted them all for this paper.
5. Beni Prasad "The State in Ancient India." 1928 p. 15.
6. R. Mookerji, 2nd Edition 1920.
7. R. Mookerji, 2nd Edition 1920.
8. Ed. by J. Rapson, Vols. I & II. Dr. S.K. Iyengar utilised all the material in his book "Ancient India."
9. Eliot Smith "Migration of Early Culture", 1915. "The Ancient Egyptians and the Origin of Civilization", 1923.
10. Z.A. Ragazoni "Assyria", 1888. "Chaldea", 1887. "Media, Babylonia, Persia", 1889. "Vedic India", 1895.
11. J. Fergusson "Tree and Serpent Worship".
12. W.J. Perry "Growth of Civilization". C.F. Oldham "The Sun and the Serpent", 1905. W.L. Perry "The Children of Sun", 1923.
13. Gilbert Slater "Dravidian Element in Indian Culture", 1924.
14. "Proofs however in abundance of the extreme antiquity of intercourse by sea between S. India and other centres of civilization, may be found in the published researches of these (besides those mentioned on p. 14) of Wilfred H. Schoff, J. Wilfred Jackson etc., G. Slater, p. 73.
15. R. Shama Sastry "Evolution of Indian Polity" 1920. p. 9.
16. Sir John Marshall "A New Chapter in Archaeology - The Prehistoric Civilisation of the Indus". Illustrated. London News, Jan. 1928.
17. W. Ghoshal, Hindu Political Theories, p. 11. 1923.
18. S.K. Iyengar "Dravidian Contributions to Indian Culture" (last chapter). "Ancient India" (chapter on Chola Administration).
19. See my paper "Political Thought in Dravidian literatures", which I prepared while at London."
20. K.R. Jayaswal "Hindu Polity", 1924.
21. N. Law "Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity", 1914. "Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity", 1921.
22. Already cited.
23. Ajit Kumar Sen "Hindu Political Thought", 1926.
24. R.D. Banerjee "Public Administration in Ancient India", 1916.

25. P.D. Banerjee "Public Administration in Ancient India", 1916, p. 289.
26. Like B.K. Sarkar in his "Political Theories and Institutions of Hindus", 1922.
27. "Tamilian Antiquary", No. 2, p. 4, 1908.
28. "Early History of India".
29. "Dynasties of Kanarese districts of Bombay Presidency", 1882, "Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum".
30. R.G. Bhandarkar "Early History of Deccan", collected works, vol. 3, 1927.
31. Franz Kielhorn "Articles in Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie and Altertumskunde", 1917.
32. E. Hultzsch "South Indian Inscriptions, 4 Vols."
33. R. Sewell "Southern Dynasties" "The Forgotten Empire", 1924.
34. Sir W. Elliot "Numismatic Gleanings and Inscriptions".
35. Jeaveau Dubreuil "Ancient History of Deccan". (French).
36. This work was written in Telugu, (one of the Dravidian Languages).
- 37&38. The research department of the University of Madras published recently a work on the History of Pallavas under the editorship of professor S. K. Iyengar 1929. C. S. Srinivasachari "The history and Institutions of Pallavas", 1924.
39. Elphinstone and Smith considered the lack of southern material from the point of view of political history. Prasad, from the point of view of Political Institutions, and Ghoshal, from that of Political Ideas.

Since all these aspects are interrelated • political history, history of institutions and ideas - and since most often political ideas can be gleaned only by an examination of history and institutions, I have discussed all these aspects here.

After all, the history of Political Thought is history and the tests ought to be historical rather than metaphysical. (C.H. Mc. Ilwain : Introduction to Works of King James 1, p. XX)

I have discussed this topic at length to refute the erroneous conclusions of writers regarding South Indian History and thereby to prove that materials exist for a reconstruction of early history of ideas relating to Dakshinapatha (classical name for Southern India).
40. For historical character of this poem, see S.K. Iyengar's "Manimekhalai", p. 35-54.
41. Sangam was a Tamil Literary Academy.
42. In "Tamil 1800 Years Ago." 1904.
- 43& 45. K.V. Subramania Iyer: "Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan", 1922.
- 44& 46. K. Rao & Iyengar : "Studies in South Indian Jainism", Appendix C. p. 118-153.
47. In his books : "Ancient India", 1911, "Augustan age in Tamil Literature", "The Beginnings of South Indian History," "The Contributions of South India to Indian Culture, 1923," and "Manimekhalai in its Historical Setting" 1928.

48. His age in anterior to that of "Silappadikaram" and "Manimekhalai". It synchronises with the age of Gaja Bahu of Lanka, probably of the first century A.D.
49. K.S. Pillai: "Tamils 1800 Years Ago", 1904, p. 161.
50. This word is very difficult to translate. 'Law', 'Justice', 'Righteousness', 'Norm' are suggested as possible definitions. Beni Prasad describes it as Hindu 'Law of Nature'. It comes to that conception nearly in absence of a suitable word in English.
51. Jataka : Vol. II, 124, 368, 526. (Cowell), Kalidasa, the Indian Shakespeare, speaks of this in his "Raghuvamsa", line 75.
52. Kural. 545 verse : "Rain and plentiful crops will ever dwell together in the country of the King who sways his sceptre with justice".
53. "Silappadikaram" : 3rd Canto, lines 126-128. "Tamils 1800 Years Ago" : p. 143.
54. "Silappadikaram" : 5th Canto, line 157.
55. "Malhuraikkanchi", - a poem by an unknown author - quoted by K.S. Pillai.
56. T.R. Sesha Iyengar : "Dravidian India", .1925, p. 236-241. "Tamils 1800 Years Ago" p. 109-110.
57. "Corporate Life in Ancient India", 1918.
58. Silappadikaram Canto VII. "Tamils 1800 Years Ago" p. 110.
59. Silappadikaram : 26 II, 344.
60. "Tamils 1800 Years Ago", p. 159.
61. "Tamils 1800 Years Ago" : p. 159.
62. Kural: "For a king to punish criminals with death is like pulling up weeds. To punish crime is not a fault in a King, but a duty". 549-550. Rev. J. Lazarus's translation, 1885. Mahu: Book VII, Verse 110. Kamandaka: "Niti Sara", Verse 13, M.N. butt's translation, p. 66.
63. "Tamils 1800 Years Ago" : p. 159.
64. South Indian Inscriptions, Malhuraikkanchi and Naladiyar - all throw light on the nature of administration in those days.
65. "Tamils 1800 Years Ago" : p. 112. "Silappadikaram" : Chapter 23, Canto II, lines 130, 131.
66. "Tamils 1800 Years Ago" : p. 110.
67. This has been ably dealt with by Venkata Rama Iyer in his "Town Planning in Ancient Deccan": 1916.
68. "Tamils 1800 Years Ago" : p. 210.
69. I discussed this in another paper on "Political Thought in Dravidian Literature"
70. The extracts are from S.k. Iyengar's "Manimekhalai". Prologue, p. III.
71. Prologue: p. 113.
72. Book VII, p. 129.
73. Prologue: Book I.

74. Prologue : Book XXIV. p. 180.
75. Prologue : Book XXV, p. 184.
76. Prologue : Book XXV, p. 186.
77. Prologue : Book XXII, p. 172.
78. Chakrawarti: Ruler.
The Chakra (Pali-Cakka) is no ordinary wheel. It is the sign of dominion and a 'Chakrawarti' is he who "makes the wheels of his chariot roll unopposed all over the world" - a universal monarch. He sets rolling the royal chariot wheel of universal empire of truth and Righteousness (Dharma). T.W. Rhys Davids "Buddhism".
79. S.A. Cook, "Cambridge Ancient History", Vol. I, Chapter V, Sec. III.
80. Manimekhalai: Book I, p. 114.
81. Manimekhalai: Book XIX, p. 160.
82. Manimekhalai: Book XIX, p. 160.
83. Manimekhalai: Book XX, p. 161.
84. Manimekhalai: Book XXIII, p. 172.
85. Manimekhalai: Book XXII, p. 169.
86. J.M. Mac Phail: "Asoka", (Heritage of India series.)
87. Manimekhalai: Book XXIII, p. 172.
88. Manimekhalai: Book XXV, p. 184.
89. Manimekhalai: Book I, and see K.P. Jayaswal's "Hindu Polity". Chapter IV, p. 25 et seq.
90. These are mentioned in Books VI, IX and III, 37. K.P. Jayaswal: "Hindu Polity", 1924. Part II, p. 199.
91. T.W. Rhys Davids : "Buddhism" (Hibbert Lectures)
92. K.S. Pillai, op. cit.
93. Manimekhalai: p. 170.
94. Brahmins in those days killed cows at sacrifices and used to eat them, of course, after offering them to the Gods.
95. These are the names of ancient Hindu Sages. Hindu mythology traces their birth to beasts and courtesans. It is a primitive notion that talent can arise even from low birth.
96. Rig Veda X, 95, 6; i, 120, 8; vi, 54, 5-6.
97. Rene. Fop Miller : "Gandhi & Lenin", 1927. p. 250. for his opinion on caste, see p. 246-247.
M.K. Gandhi : "Cow protection is the gift of Hinduism to the world. And Hinduism will live as long as there are Hindus to protect the cow....."
98. Professor R.B. Dixon is also of this opinion.
99. He characterized them as "tricksters, droners out of holy words for pay, diviners, exorcists, ever hungry to add gain to gain", in "Buddhist India", by T.W. Rhys Davids, p. 215. Dialogues of Buddha. Part I, p. 15.

100. H. Limmer: "Altendisches Leben", Berlin, 1879, p. 186. Keith and Macdonell : "Vedic Index", Vol. II, p. 247. Cambridge Ancient History of India" Edited by Rapson. Vol. I. "The Age of Rig Veda", by A.B. Keith, 4th chapter.
101. Manimekhalai: Book XXII, p. 171.
102. Apastamba : "Abni dogara daschaiva sastra panirdhanapah. Kshetra dara shahartacha shadete *"hatatayinah"*.
103. Bhagavadgita : 1st chapter, verse 36, (Great Sinners).
104. K.S. Pillai op. cit., p. 120. Silappadikaram : 1, 36, 37.
105. Samgha - Association : Monastery.
106. Mrs. C.A.F Rhys Davids : "Gotama the Man". "I had sympathy too with the women's claim to be held, in a world of monks, as equal in mind with men". *Gotama*.
107. Samyutta Nikaya, Pt. I, p. 86.
108. References to women rulers are found in the Mahavanisa. Queen Anula, herself reigned for four months. (Chapter 24, Sec. 27). Sivali, daughter of Amanda and younger sister of Culabhaya, reigned for four months. (Chapter 35, Sec. 14).
109. Ganganath Jha's Edition : p. 172. Verse 147.
110. Pt. I, pp. 212-213.
111. Pt. I, pp. 299 ff.
112. B.C. Law : "Women in Buddhist Literature", 1927.
113. J.W. Mc Crindle : "Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian", 1877. Section on "Pandya".
114. Miss Bods : "Journal of Royal Asiatic Society", Vol. XXV, p. 517.

3. POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE PERIOD

There is no history of political theory where there is no political history. It is a singular irony of fate that Ancient India possesses neither History¹ nor sound Political classics. It is true one could recount the 'Mahabharata', 'Artha Sastra', 'Niti Sara', 'Niti Vakyamrita', 'Niti-Mayukha', 'Rajaniti Prakasika', 'Rajaniti' and the works of Hindu Legists,² Gautama, Vasishtha, Baudhyayana, Apastamba, Vishnu, Manu, Yajnavalkya, Narada and Brihaspati, as instances of Political classics. But whoever reads them will be sadly disillusioned. Each is an edition of the other without any note of variation, and Mac Ivar would say that these form a history of stagnant thought.

As for political history, it is reconstructed out of various sources and is still in that process, and a history of political theory has to be reconstructed out of the reconstructed political history, along with the political classics.

My main purpose here is to trace the fortunes of Buddhism and its influence during this period on Social and Political history.

This period covers the Kushan or Indo-Scythian dynasty from about twenty A.D. to 225 A.D., and the Gupta Empire, the earlier from 320 A.D. to 455 A.D. and the later from 455 AD. to 606 A.D. The contents of this thesis cover this whole period.

The most outstanding person of this first period is Kanishka. We read that Asvaghosha was the teacher of this famous King. He ascended the throne in about 120 A.D. It is impossible to fix the exact date of Kanishka's conversion to Buddhism. The event evidently did not occur until he had been for some years on the throne.

With all the missionary zeal of a new convert, like Asoka, he built several monasteries, which were centres of education in those days. During this period, Buddhism was changing rapidly, and Buddha was being worshipped as a God. In less than seven centuries Buddha was deified as a God.

In Buddhist ecclesiastical history, the reign of Kanishka is specially celebrated for the convocation of a council organized on the model of that summoned by Asoka. No political importance should be attached to this assembly.³ The reign of Kanishka appeared to have lasted for some forty five years, and may be assumed to have terminated about 160 A.D.

The period between the death of Kanishka and the rise of Gupta dynasty is one of the darkest in the whole range of Indian history. It is exactly similar to the Dark Ages that succeeded, in China, the downfall of later Han dynasty (second century A.D.)⁴

Chandra Gupta was succeeded by Samudra Gupta.⁵ His conquests were large. His empire was by far the greatest that had been in India since the days of Asoka, six centuries before; and the possession of such an empire naturally entitled Samudra Gupta to the respect of foreign powers.

The Allahabad Pillar inscription describes how he was well-versed in the Sastras,⁶ how he, himself a learned man, was fond of the company of learned men.⁷ He was the prince of poets⁸, whose various poetical compositions were fit to be the means of subsistence of learned people⁹, and give him an empire of fame for his enjoyment.¹⁰ He was the master of "that true poetry which gives free vent to the power of the mind of poets."¹¹ Altogether "his sharp and polished intellect put to shame Kasyapa, the perceptor of Indra."¹² Besides poetry, he also cultivated the sister art of music. He put to shame Narada by his choral skill and musical accomplishments.¹³ We thus see that his learning was as wide as his empire. He earned the title of Chakravarti, Rajadhi Raja and Sarva Bhauma.¹⁴ His Kshatra¹⁵ was as mighty as Indra's. No wonder he won the title of Indian Napoleon. With all that, while Asoka stood for peace and non-violence, Samudra Gupta stood for war and aggression.

Then came Chandra Gupta II (405-411 A.D.) During his reign Fahian, the Chinese pilgrim, visited India. From his travels we gather that the people were rich and prosperous and seemed to emulate each other in the practice of virtue. Charitable institutions were

numerous; rest-houses for travellers were provided on the highways and the capital possessed an excellent free hospital endowed by benevolent and educated citizens.¹⁶

"Hither come, we are told, all poor or helpless patients suffering from all kinds of infirmities. They are well taken care of and a doctor attends them; food and medicine being supplied according to their wants. Thus they are made quite comfortable, and when they are well they may go away."¹⁷ It may be doubted if any equally efficient foundation was to be seen elsewhere in the world at that date.

In the course of his journey he passed a succession of Buddhist monasteries tenanted by thousands of monks. Buddhism was growing in favour.¹⁸

The Buddhist rule of life was generally observed. Throughout the country, we are told "no one kills any living thing, or drinks wine, or eats onions or garlic... They do not keep pigs or fowls; there are no dealings in cattle, no butcher's shops or distilleries in their market places."

The Buddhist monasteries were liberally endowed by royal grants, and the monks received alms without stint, houses, beds, mattresses, food and clothes were never lacking to them wherever they might go.¹⁹

We now come to the later Gupta Empire. The general prevalence of Buddhism in Northern India, including Kashmir, Afghanistan and Surat, during the two centuries immediately preceding and two next following the Christian Era, is simply attested by numerous remains of Buddhist monuments erected during that period, and a multitude of inscriptions which are almost all either Buddhist or Jain.

In some respects Buddhism in its Mahayana form was better fitted than the Brahmanical system to attract the reverence of casteless foreign chieftains, and it should have shown a decided tendency to favour Buddhism rather than Brahmanism.

In the case of South India proper²⁰ this period covers the early period up to the fifth century A.D. The history of this period is entirely based on literary evidence.

Beyond a mention of three kings and several chieftains we do not really know any thing of this period. There was some commercial activity during this time, although the period must have been full of wars as well. There appear to have been the rudiments of good government mostly in some sort of self-government, and justice was administered with even-handed impartiality. For the real history, we have to come to Pallava period, which goes beyond the period covered by this thesis.

When we come to the early history of Deccan,²¹ we meet the same difficulty. It flourished till the end of the second century A.D. The institutions of this period - Satavahana - bear resemblance to those we have already discussed.

The picture of the Political history of this period confirms the picture we obtained from the consideration of religious classics. All the Buddhist ideals are seen in everyday practice, as the Travels of Yuan Chang amply indicate. Buddhism has converted Kanishka and Asoka. It made the people vie with each other in the practice of virtue. It built monasteries, great centres of education, which attracted a great concourse of humanity from all parts of India. It made charity a social obligation, and Dharma a moral necessity.

NOTES :

1. Rajendra Lal Mitra : "Antiquities of Orissa" introduction. Vol. I 1875, p.l. A.A. Mac Donell: "A History of Sanskrit Literature"; 1899, p. 10. Max Mueller: "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature", 1859. Reprint 1912. p. 10 & 16.
2. "Sacred Books of the East" Series, Ed. M. Mueller.
3. R. Otto Franke: "Buddhist Councils" translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids in "Journal of Pali Text Society". 1908.
4. Richard Wilhelm: "A Short History of Chinese Civilization". Translated by Joan Joshua. 6th chapter, 1929.
5. 330-375 A.D. R. Mookherji: "Men & Thought in Ancient India". 1924, pp. 143-159.
6. Scriptures : line 5 Sastra-tattv-arthabhartuh, lines 15 and 30.
7. I. 5.
- 8 & 9. Kaviraja I, 27.
10. Kirttirajyam bhunakti I. 6.
11. L. 16. Bhattiprole Inscriptions. These are illustrated in Epigraphica Indica. Vol.11 p. 323.
12. L.27.
13. Do gandharva-lalataih. See Buhler and Fleet in "Indian Antiquary", XIII. (1884). p. 306.
14. Ruler, King of Kings, Emperor of the whole world.
15. Kshatra : Dominion : Sovereignty. This word for the first time occurs in Rig Veda. Varuna, Indra and Kshatriyas are the possessors of Kshatra.
16. On Yuan Chang's "Travels in India". Giles version chapter xxvii.
17. Sir H. Burdett: (Encycl. Brit, eleventh Ed. Hospitals): Sir Burdett states that in Christian days no establishments for the relief of the sick were founded until the reign of Constantine (4th C. A.D.)
18. Travels : Ch. XVI. The versions of this chapter differ. Those of Legge & Giles are used here.
19. V. A. Smith : "Early History of India". 3rd Edition. 1914. pp. 248-334.
20. S.K. Aiyangar: "Ancient India". 1911. p. 31-32.
21. The History of Deccan is yet to be written. Bhandarkar. Rapson and Rao have so far dabbled in it.

4. BUDDHIST POLITICAL THEORY IN GREATER INDIA (SUMATRA, JAVA, BALI, BORNEO AND OTHER ISLANDS)

No history of Buddhist political thought is complete without an adequate survey of the ideas and institutions that prevailed in these islands at the period we are considering.

Suvarnabhumi (Sumatra) is mentioned in Jatakas, Epics and Mahavamsa at the beginning of the Christian Era.¹ Ptolemy, the Greek geographer, referred to it as Sabadu. We also find references to Savakamor Chavaka (Sumatra) in Tamil literature of the second century A.D. The Chinese travellers, later Marco Polo and the Arab merchants, referred to the Hindu colonization of these Islands. Itsing (673 A.D.)² refers to more than ten such colonies where Indian manners, customs and religious practices prevailed. The positive evidence of the Indian movement eastward occurs in the Sanskrit inscription of Vocanh in Annam, dateable about 200 A.D. It cannot be doubted that long before the time of the Pallavas of Kanchi (before the fifth century A.D.) the Kalingas and Andhras of Orissa and Vengi had laid the foundations of Indian or Indianized States "beyond the moving seas".

The influence of Indian culture spread over Serindia, distant Java and in Spice Islands in the east. From the Brahmaputra and Manipur to the Tankin Gulf, we can trace a continuous string of petty States ruled by those scions of the Kshatriya race using the Sanskrit or the Pali Language in official documents and inscriptions, building temples and other monuments after the Hindu style, and employing Brahmana priests for the propitiatory ceremonies connected with the court and the State. There is ample evidence that Indian colonists from the Deccan had from a very early time colonized important places in the region Iravadi and Indo China.³

The Indian colonization of Java besides going to show the extraordinary developments that should have taken place in the maritime

adventure of the Hindus of that period, clearly indicates the onward march of Indian culture to dominate it over new lands and make it more comprehensive than before. According to Javanese tradition, the migration of Indian culture is thus narrated. There was a Hindu King, Sakaprativa, who went to Java in 78 A.D. Probably he might have been sent there by the Kushana emperor, Kanishka. Sakaprativa is said to have taken with him two servants and a knife for writing the doctrines of Buddhism. In central Java he met with the cannibal King whom he was able to defeat. The Kingship of the island was then offered to Sakaprativa. He ruled the country for forty days, gave the people laws and taught them the alphabet. The Buddhist scriptures were written for the benefit of the Javanese, who became thereafter converted to Buddhism. Besides, Sakaprativa is also said to have introduced the era which went by his name as the Saka era in the island.⁴

Itsing writes of *Bhoga* thus : many kings and chieftains in the islands of Southern Ocean admire and believe in Buddhism, and their hearts are set on accumulating good actions. The Bhoga King as well as the rulers of the neighbouring states favoured Buddhism.

The Chinese "History of Sung", (960-1279 A.D.) mentions fifteen Buddhist States in those islands. The Javanese Kings were known by the Hindu title of Maha Rajahs.⁵ In Fahian's time (411 A.D.), Java was already settled by the Hindus. He says, "heretic Brahmans flourish there, and Buddha Dharma hardly deserves mentioning."⁶

Burma, at the beginning of the Christian Era, was also subject to Hindu and Buddhist culture. Buddhaghosha, whom we have considered already, is said to have visited Thaton about 450 A.D., bringing with him the books of the Pali Canon, and from this time onwards, Burma has been more exclusively a Buddhist country than was the case in any other part of Greater India.⁷

Siam, beyond the fact that it also came under Buddhist influence, nothing further is known.

Cambodia :⁸ most of our information about the early period is derived from Chinese sources. We hear of an Indian Brahman,

Kaundinya, who probably in the first century A.D., landed in Funan from a merchant vessel, married a princess who had received the name Soma, and so became master of the country. The story is again referred to in a Cam inscription of 659 where the princess is called Negigi.⁹ The Kaundinya-Soma story is probably of Indian origin.

Strutavarman, under whom Cambodia (Funan) seems to have become for the first time organized on the lines of Hindu civilization, ruled about 400 A.D. He was followed by other kings, direct descendants having Varman (protector) as their patronymic name. This was a lunar dynasty.

There are also evidences of Buddhist art, Chaityas (Halls) and Viharas (Monasteries).

All these clearly prove the extent of Buddhism even to these parts. The effect on political thought is still a matter of conjecture. The form of government is monarchy. Beyond a conjecture that this might be influenced by Buddhism, nothing is known.

Campa: The Oldest Hindu monument is the Sanskrit inscription Vo-canh in an early South Indian script recording the name of a king of the Sri Maradynasty and dating from the third or second century A.D. At this time, there existed in the Nhatrang region a Hindu Kingdom known as Kauthara.

Indravarman (Hindu name) apparently a Buddhist, founded a great Buddhist shrine at Dong-duong, in honour of Lokesvara, about 900 A.D.

Conclusion : I have traced the spread of Buddhist thought to all these islands. It is now time to estimate the influence, on political thought, of Buddhism. In the first place, the political thought of these islands prior to the introduction of Buddhism is unknown. Secondly, in some places we find both Hinduisim and Buddhism flourishing together. Consequently, it is difficult to say which exerted a greater influence and in what way. Thirdly, the materials are scanty. It is still a matter of research. It requires the learning of Action, Savigny and Maitland, the vision of a poet, an intellectual acclimatization to the climate of fourteen centuries (7th century B.C. to A.D.), and an

acquaintance of the languages and literatures - Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit - Dravidian Languages - and Chinese. A scientific historian, endowed with historic imagination, learned in languages and literatures and tempered by encyclopaedic scholarship is yet to be born. Beyond vague references to Monarchy, I have not been able to trace any further ideas. I only suggest that a historian has to take these islands into consideration when he writes the History of Political thought of this period.

CEYLON

Of the islands that I have dealt with, none are so important as Ceylon. Its classic names are Lanka, Tamraparni, Simhala Dvipa and Ratna Dvipa.

The sources for the history of this island are Mahavamsa (fifth century A.D.), Dipavamsa (fourth century A.D.), Fahian the Chinese traveller (411 A.D.), Mahinda the brother of Asoka who visited Ceylon, and Sangha Mitta, sister of Asoka. Besides these we have evidences of Megasthenes, Pliny, Strabo and Ptolemy. These are further enriched by Tamil references in Silappadikaram and Manimekhlai. And still further we have the Hindu Epics. The scene of action of Ramayana is laid in this island itself.

The history of the Kings of Ceylon from Tessa,¹⁰ the friend and ally of Asoka onward, is intimately connected with that of Buddhism. In Mahavamsa,¹¹ we read that Mahendra with Ristriya, Vetrinya, Sambala and Bhadrasara came to Lanka. The Andhras, Kalingas, the people of Eastern Bengal and the Tamils all colonized, conquered and ruled Ceylon, bringing with them Brahmanic as well as Buddhist norms.¹²

About the first century A.D. Nagas appear to have risen to power even in Ceylon, judging from the names of the kings given in Mahavamsa.

We have seen that Naga princes were instructed in Buddhism, in the Tamil Classics. These Nagas are essentially Dravidian in culture and civilization. Then we know that the first Aryan colonization began with the landing of Vijaya,¹³ Thus, we see that Ceylon has been the meeting place of two cultures, Aryan and Dravidan. It is a mistake,

I think, still to regard the two cultures as separate at the dawn of the Christian Era. Besides, this has been further enriched by Sumerian and Greeco-Roman contact, as the evidence of Pliny testifies, and the coins and measures of ancient Ceylon testify.

We gather directly some political ideas from the narrative of Pliny (23-79 A.D.). Eratosthenes states that Taprobane (Ceylon) has no cities but it has villages to the number of 700. Aelian mentions the number of villages to be 750. From this we can infer that the social organization was essentially rural. It is interesting to note that the Roman Emperor at this time was Claudius (41-51 A.D.).

Let us turn now to Pliny. He relates that one Roman, Annius Prodamus was stranded in Ceylon. The Ceylonese King received and took care of him. He stayed there for six months and learned the language. The King asked him questions regarding Rome, her kings, customs and manners. Through him, the King came to know of the Romans. He sent four ambassadors of whom the chief was Raicha (Rajah). This evidence of Roman intercourse is further attested by numismatic evidence.

Later, we read in Pliny that in Taprobane, there are 500 towns. We see the transition from rural to urban organization. He further says that they have no courts of law and no litigation.

“Their King is chosen by the people and must be an old man of a gentle disposition and childless and if after his election he should beget children, he is required to abdicate, lest the throne should become hereditary; thirty councillors are provided for him by the people, and no one can be condemned to death except by the majority. The person so condemned has however the right of appeal to the people, in which case a jury of seventy people is appointed; if these should acquit the accused, the thirty councillors lose all the respect they enjoyed, and are subject to uttermost disgrace.....”

I am not able to find other evidences which support this picture, I think it is rather overdrawn. In any case, the ideas expressed in the above are not wholly foreign to Inida at that age. That is the only value I attach to that passage.

When we come to Kosmos Indi-Ropleustes,¹⁴ we find a few references to Ceylon. He says "there are two Kings in the island who are at feud with each other." There is a reference to a King who admired the Romans, Kumara Paas (515-524 A.D.).

Still later we learn from a Chinese historian¹⁵ that King Mighavarman of Ceylon (352-379 A.D.), deputed two monks, one of whom is stated to have been his brother, to Bodh-Gaya to see Asoka's monastery to the east of the Sacred tree there and pay homage to the Diamond Throne. The strangers, meeting with scant courtesy there, returned and induced the King to make arrangements for the proper accommodation of his subject going on pilgrimage to India. For this purpose, he sent a formal embassy with the gifts of gems and other precious articles for which Ceylon was noted, to the Indian Emperor, who at once granted permission to build a monastery near the Sacred Tree. The King of Ceylon built a monastery of three stories, six halls and three towers, enclosed within a wall thirty or forty feet high. Inside were decorations of painting and a statue of the Buddha of gold and silver, studied with gems of various colours. The establishment is called Mahabodhi Sangharama by Yuan Chwang, who saw it accommodating nearly "one thousand ecclesiasties, all Mahayanists of the Sthavira School".¹⁶ Thus the King of Ceylon was anxious to be on good terms with Samudra Gupta (330-375 A.D.).

All this seems to be irrelevant to the point at issue. Where I have been unable to trace any history of political thought, I have briefly given the political history with possible suggestions. Political thought can only be inferred from the picture I have drawn above. There are no distinct Political classics, in this period. The two religious classics, Mahavamsa and Dipavamsa give a picture of monarchy with the usual admonitions of pious nature. This is amply borne out by the historical facts. The general spirit of the age also confirms this view of benevolent monarchy. Pliny's narrative suggests a popular basis of kingly power. While this is not foreign to Buddhism in theory, in practice it is just the reverse. We see the usual panorama of Buddhist eschatology, its Sanghams, its monasteries and its Dharma (Watters ii. 136 Yuan Chwang).

NOTES :

1. A.K. Coomaraswamy : "A History of Indian and Indonesian Art", 1927. p. 156.
2. Itsing's account of "Bhoja, Sri Bhoja and Bali", with an introduction by Max Mueller.
3. Gerini: "Researches on Ptolemy's Geography", p. 122 H. The name *Java* is mentioned in Ramayana, IV. 40, 30. The name *Suvarnabhumi* is identified with various other places by Fleet (Journal of Asiatic Society, 1910, p. 428.) But it is usually associated with Sumatra.
4. S.V. Viswanatha : "Racial Synthesis in Hindu Culture" 1928. p. 176.
Sumatra G. Ferrand : "L'Empire Sumatranais de Srivijaya". Paris, 1922. p. 146.
E.B. Cowell: "Jatakas" HI. 188. "Jatakas" VI. 34 ff. Mahavamsa : Chapter XI, Verse 44. (Pali Text Society Greiger's Edition),
5. Itsing.
6. Itsing.
7. A.K. Coomaraswamy : op.cit., p. 169.
8. Classical name is Funan.
B.R. Chatterji: "Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia", 1928.
9. E. Aymonier ; "Le Cambodge", Paris, 1900-1914. Vol. I. p. 45.
10. Epigraphia Leylanica - i 60 f. z. Wickremasinghe, Oxford, 1904.
11. Mahavamsa : (Apali Chronicle). V. 280.
12. R. Mookherji: "Asoka", 1928. All Asoka's Edicts are translated in this book.
(i) Muhalamana Naga, 125 A.D. (ii) Kuhana or Chanda Naga, 173 A.D.
(iii) Kudanama or Kuda Naga, 183 A.D. (iv) Kuda Serina or Sri Naga, 184 A.D.
13. 543 B.C.
14. J.W. Mc. Crindle : "Ancient India" as described by Megasthenes and Arrian.
15. Yuan Chwang (Variously spelt).
16. Yuan Chwang's Travels. Watters ii, 136.

5. INFLUENCE OF BUDDHIST THOUGHT ON THE WEST

The only evidence we have of the spread of Buddhist thought to the west is the Asokan Rock Edict. It says :

"And this has been repeatedly won by His Sacred Majesty both here (in his dominions) and among all the frontier peoples even to the extent to six hundred yojanas where (are) the Yona King, Antiochos by name and beyond that Antiochos, the four Kings named Ptolemy, Antigonos, Magas and Alexander".¹

This was issued in about 270 B.C. The Greek Kings referred to were :

1. Antioches II, Oheos of Syria, (261-247 B.C.)²
2. Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt (285-247 B.C.)
3. Antigonos Gonals of Macedonia (278-239 B.C.)
4. Magas of Cyrene (West of Egypt) (300-258 B.C.)
5. Alexander of Epirus (272-258 B.C.)³

The view of Asoka's chronology as taken here is also that of Cambridge History.⁴

The evidence as to this mission on the western side is singularly lacking. The history of the Western Greek countries does not preserve any record showing how Asoka's missionaries fared there.

At any rate, it is undeniable that Asokan missions to the west have been a failure, while they have been successful in the east. Rhys Davids, the great Pali scholar, thinks that Asoka's reference to the foreign missions he sent to the western countries as nothing but, "royal rodomantade" .⁵ But the patriotic school of Hindu writers take objection to the view as a smack of prejudice, and a superficial view. In another place, the same scholar takes a non-committal attitude.⁶ But V A. Smith⁷, the historian of Ancient India, thinks that

Buddhist thought undeniably has left its marks upon some phases of western thought⁸, notably "the heretical Gnostic Sects and some of the more orthodox forms of Christian teaching."

On the other hand, Elliot Smith, brilliant anatomist as he is, whose authority in that field is unquestioned, but whose dabblings in other fields are deplorable and somewhat tainted with suspicion, says that Buddhism is influenced by Hellenism.⁹ Sylvan Levi, the great French Buddhist scholar retorts that Buddhism is Indian in origin.¹⁰ The researches of Warmington and Rawlison quite independently point to the same direction.¹¹ For my part, I am inclined to take a noncommittal attitude. Neither is influenced by the other, and I firmly believe that, other things being equal, similarity of conditions produce similarity of ideas.

The conclusion is irresistible that Buddhism influenced Western thought very little.

NOTES :

1. R. Mookerji: "Asoka", 1928, p. 166.
2. Also mentioned R. Edict II.
3. The identification of these Kings was due to Lassen "Indische Alterthumskunde", Bd. ii, p. 256. f.
See J.R.A.S. 1914, p. 944.
4. Cambridge History of India. Vol I p. 502. J.R.A.S is the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
5. T.W. Rhys Davids : "Buddhist India".
6. T.W. Rhys Davids: "Christianity and Buddhism", Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1920-23; p. 53.
7. "Early History of India", 3rd Edition p. 188.
8. E.G. the sects of the Essenes, a small Jewish community on the shores of the Dead Sea, existing before Christianity and of the Therapeutae, a similar order near Alexandria, (See Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics - Hastings - Vol. 401 and XII. 318-9). D.R. Bhandarkar's Asoka, p. 165.
9. Elliot Smith : "Human History", 1929. p. 437. His reference to Rhys Davids as "pretended" is really unbecoming of him.
10. Sylvan Levi: "L'Inde et le Monde".
11. E.H. Warmington : "The commerce between Roman Empire and India".
H.G. Rawlison : "Intercourse between India and the Western World."

6. CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL THOUGHT

CHINA¹

Let us trace the fortunes of Buddhism in China. The place occupied by Buddhism in China corresponded to that of Christianity in Europe. Both were alien religions, both underwent decided changes in their new homes and imbibed certain influences from competing religions. Buddhism was officially introduced into China in the reign of Emperor Ming Ti who in 61-67 A.D. had sent a mission to India - to procure, so the legend runs, the God whose image had been revealed to him in a dream. There is however distinct evidence that Buddhist images and teachings had already reached the Chinese people before this date by way of Central Asia, where Buddhism had long been practised. The first Sutras mentioned in China date from the time of the Ai Ti at the beginning of the Christian Era. Then in the reign of Ming Ti arrived the aforesaid mission from India, bearing Sutra and images of Buddha on a white horse. Lodgment was accorded to it in Si, where the Indians who had accompanied it remained, and translated a number of Buddhist texts into Chinese. After their death, the place was consecrated as a Buddhist monastery, the white horse, and from this time the term "Si" gradually acquired the meaning of a Buddhist monastery.

One can not say of Buddhism it is true, any more than of Christianity during the first few centuries, that it immediately became an authorized religion. For political or other reasons, alien religious establishments have always been tolerated at the Chinese Imperial Court.²

Again the campaigns conducted by the generals Man Yuan and Pan Ch'ao in the western regions must have clearly contributed in a high degree to Chinese acquaintance with Buddhist teachings. Among the masses in whom the yearning for religion and salvation was becoming ever more insistent, the Mahayana form of Buddhism, which in cultural type corresponds to the early Catholic Church,

became increasingly popular. Its adherents, however, might occupy only lay positions in the community. The Chinese were still prohibited from shaving their heads and entering a monastery. Not until the reign of Emperor Wen of Wei dynasty were the Chinese permitted to take the vows and enter a monastery.

Apart from direct influences of this nature, Buddhism exerted very vital indirect influence on China, in that it stimulated Taoism to become a religious systems. Borrowing from the monastic disciplinary rules of Buddhism in particular, it became more and more extensive. The Taoist monastic system is entirely built up on the Buddhist model. Establishing itself ever more securely in the course of centuries, it was always borrowing fresh elements from Buddhism.

It is true that out of religious conviction more and more of the eminent intellects turned towards Buddhism, but it would be far more correct to say that Buddhism rather than Chinese civilization gained in prestige thereby.³

It was in emperor Wu's rule that Bodhidharma, the Indian monk (Popularly called Ta-mo in Chinese) came to China from India and disseminated the doctrine of mediation.

In spite of all persecutions, however, Buddhism remained the true religion of China. So greatly had it developed that its doctrines were now being amplified by original Chinese thought.

Dispensing with exact chronological details, I summarized the fortunes of Buddhism up to the later Han period, noting indirectly the effects on Chinese thought.⁴

What is the exact significance of this movement to Chinese political thought? This is a very difficult question to answer. In the first place Buddhism in China differs from Buddhism in India in its march through time and space. Buddhism of the Christian Era in India had undergone a change. Buddha became a deity. Then it had undergone several changes in Central Asia and Tibet before China received it through the West. It has also undergone changes when it was received through the South. Secondly, during this period there is not much

political thought in China. Save Wang Mang's idealistic social reforms of 9-25 A.D., there arose no political writer during this period. Confucianism raised its head against the barbarism of the Hans, when it finally relapsed into the Dark Ages. Hence it is very difficult to judge the significance of Buddhist thought to China.

Was Confucius (551 B.C.) aware of Gautama Buddha? Was Mencius (372 B.C.) aware of Buddha? It is in the consideration of problems like these that we can get any clue as to the significance of Buddhism on Chinese political thought. The history of Buddhist thought in China - its influences, repercussions, reactions is yet to be written. Until then it is a vain task to essay the impossible.

A true history of this period ought also to include Central Asia, Tibet, Korea and Japan. The materials are scanty and few. In the case of Korea, Buddhism came to be introduced in the fifth century A.D.; and from there it spread to Japan. In Japan it became later absorbed by later Shintoism.

Conclusion : Monarchy, all though the regions that Buddhism travelled, was tempered by its humanitarian ideals. In China, it emphasized the already existing filial piety and obedience to elders. It favoured the growth of monasteries, centres of culture and propaganda in central Asia, Tibet, and China. And lastly, it set up a law of Nature - a Buddha Dharma - higher than the law of man or King.

MIDDLE EAST⁵

Arabia, at this period, is still weltering under the sun of barbarism. Mohomed is yet to be born to give them not only a religion but also a polity.⁶

There are among the people of this region ideas of right and justice, and a sense of the evil consequences of crime. These ideas become more explicit in divine ordeals, Judgments and so forth. The chiefs and elders of the tribe are men, noble, wise and brave, but with slight authority.

The mighty Mesopotamian Kings themselves had no very exclusive powers. Permanent authority is resented. It is based on religious rather than upon political ideas of Kingship and of representative men.

Semitic history is full of men of striking personality. They arise and protest against existing conditions. A thoroughgoing political revolutionary is often a religious leader.⁷

Creeds sever the Semitics but they are also the strong bonds. New movements of this nature are marked by stern discipline, puritanism or even an antipathy to certain elements of civilization. The movement encourages ideas of equality and a certain communism illustrated in the military constitution of the warrior - nation of Islam and earlier in the armed camps of Israel in the wilderness of wanderings.

Where there have been migrations, the settlement has forced adjustments of ideas. At one place there have been intermarriages and fusion, at another, aloofness and rigidity.

In the change from desert to settled life, the fundamental Semitic ideas take another and more highly developed form the aristocratic institutions and despotisms are wholly in accord with Semitic temper. A practical sovereignty is always appreciated and accepted.

Among the Babylonians there is a warning that "if the king does not heed the law, his people will be destroyed, his power will pass away".

The Egyptian Ramses II "gives health to whom he will", he sacrificed to the God for fair weather, and was popularly supposed to possess influence with his God.⁸

According to an Assyrian saying "the man is the shadow of God; the slave is Shadow of Man, the King is like God." The ruler stands in closest relationship to the Gods and to the people. He is as the God of the God's visible representative. The King is the God's anointed and the divine King could anoint vassal Kings and ceremonially recognize vassal Gods. He ruled by divine authority as the chosen one of Gods. His divinity showed itself in the insignia,

costume, and toilet, in court etiquette and royal prerogative, in titles and tribute and in the connection between the temple and the palace.

There is a general pervading idea of the intermediate position of representative individuals between the people and their Gods; it underlies institutions, court language, and political and ecclesiastical rivalries.

The ruler by his success manifested divine favour and what injured so important a person injured the country.⁹

The rules typically represent or symbolize on the one side the Gods on whom the land or people depend, on the other the land or people itself. Every war is holy, and Gods take part in the war.¹⁰

From the above picture, we gather three chief characteristics of the period :

1. In some parts, tribal institutions under aristocratic leadership are found.

2. In some, monarchic institutions with theories of divine right of Kingship and Kings are found.

3. There is a connection between Religious and Political Ideas.

All the ideas we have examined above are found in Brahmanic literature. There is not one statement above which cannot be applied to the Brahmanic political ideas. The notion of divine right of Kings and Kingship underlines their institutions. The King is Virat, born of the Deva's (God). He is anointed in the same way. He too has the conception of a universal empire. But he is bound by a higher law of Dharma which we have not found among people of Middle East, but both have priests and learned councillors. To a Vedic King a Purohita (priest) is indispensable. Like Ramses, he sacrifices to the God for fair weather, which Buddha satirised so well in his dialogues. An insult to him is an insult to God.

We come to the conclusion that the political ideas of this region closely resemble those of the Brahmin writers in India.

WEST (Europe)

The political theory of the west at this period is found in the writings of Cicero, Seneca, Roman Lawyers and the Early Christian Fathers.¹¹

I want to examine the ideas of these writers and compare them with those of the Buddhist writers of this period. Cicero, Seneca and the Early Christian Fathers all emphasised "Natural equality". So did the Buddhist writers. The question of this discussion of equality is occasioned by the existence of slavery in the ancient world. Similarly, the existence of caste in Ancient India based on birth led the Buddhist writers to frame this theory of equality. In the words of Cicero, all men have reason, all men are capable of virtue. Likewise, Santi-Deva makes a plea for equality on the ground that all feel pain and happiness alike. In Vajra Suchi, Asvaghosha says that all human beings are, in respect of joy and sorrow, love, insight, manners and ways, death, fear and life, all equal. Like Seneca he says that all have the same beginnings, the same origin. They are all born in the same way. In Lalitavistara we read that at Vaisali, there was no respect for age, nor for position, whether high or middle or low, each one there thought "I am a King". All these writers proclaim human equality. This is another instance which shows that political theory does not lag behind political or social circumstances.

The State, according to Cicero and the Patrists, is founded on justice. It is so with the Buddhist writers. The State is founded on Dharma (Righteousness). Soma Deva Suri¹², a Jaina writer, bows to a State in which Dharma, Artha (wealth) and Kama (wants) are realized.

Cicero, Seneca and the Fathers speak of Natural law. What is the Natural law in Buddhist thought? The Natural law is Dharma. It is above all laws; above all kings. It is the test of truth and validity in law, in social order and in organized Society. Both the Brahmanic and Buddhist Dharma is a higher law. Beni Prasad thinks that this conception of Dharma is similar to the conception of Natural law in the west. I think it is a correct statement.

Seneca uses phrases of great force and plainness to emphasize the self-sufficiency of the truly wise man. A wise man is independent of the help of society. It is imperative that he should help the society. He is not exempt from the obligation to society. This idea of self-sufficiency of a wise man is characteristic of earlier Brahmanism and Buddhism. The ancient Rishis were not only philosophers but men of heroic action. They were not only religious but also social and political leaders. The authors of Upanishads were men of heroic action. They were also colonizers. Agastya and Visvamitra were the foremost among them. It was the Rishis who paved the way for Aryan colonization of South India.¹³ It is also the same with the Buddhist wanderers (Parivrajakas). They held debates on the way-side inns, engaged themselves in conversational discussions on matters of Ethics, Philosophy and Natural Lore.¹⁴ Their influence was the same as the student wanderers in Europe upon Reformation.

When we come to Roman Lawyers the references to Politics are few in number. With the Lawyers, the source of power is the people. It is so in theory, but in practice it was not the case. With the Buddhist writers, especially Aryadeva, the source of power is the people. Whether this is true in practice, it is very difficult to say, for the evidence is scanty.

The New Testament breathes lofty ideas of cosmopolitanism and universalism. It is characteristic of the entire oriental world, of Babylonia, Assyria, India, Tibet and China. It is characteristic of Asvaghosha, of Samudra Gupta, of Chandra Gupta Maurya, of Asoka and of Harsha.

When we come to the theory of property, the general tendency of the New Testament writers seems to be to assume the existence of the institution while they enjoin upon Christian men the duty of using their property especially for the benefit of all the members of the Christian Societies. The later Fathers recognize it and say that private property is no evil if rightly used. But the Buddhist Samgha has no private property. Their whole ideal is dominated by the sense of the claims of the brotherhood.

"Now at that time a certain Bhikku (Buddhist monk) spent the rest of the year (besides the rainy season) alone. The people then gave him robes, saying : "We give them to the Samgha". Then that Bhikku thought, "It has been laid down by the Blessed One that the lowest number which can constitute a Samgha is four. Now, I am one by myself, and these people have given the robes saying, 'We give them to Samgha'. The Bhikkus told the matter to the Exalted One. "I prescribe, O Bhikkus, that you are to divide such robes with the Samgha (whether large or small in number) that may be present there" ¹⁵

It is clear that the Buddhists do not recognize the institution of private property. This has been a fairly consistent theory with them.

As to the authority of the ruler, the Legal writers traced it to the people. But St. Gregory traces it to God. In India of this period, the Buddhists trace the authority to the people. The Brahmanic theory is inconsistent. On the whole, they trace it like Gregory to God. The history of Political thought in India up to the seventh century A.D. is very largely the history of the struggle between these two schools of thought. For "Buddhist Sovereigns have summoned councils, but not so the Hindu monarchs." ¹⁶

Western Political thought begins to note the struggle between Church and State. Hinduism knows no church. ¹⁷ Buddhism is hierarchical in the sense that it has an organization like a Samgha. The Samgha is a veritable State within a State. The Bhikkus seek refuge in Buddha, in Samgha and Dharma. ¹⁸ These are the three great powers to which they owe allegiance. We read in Mahavagga that "if a Bhikku had been seized by the King, robbers, or relatives, a request should be made for his temporary release or for bringing him outside the boundary so that the congregation might be complete." ¹⁹ I do not know what to infer from this. Suppose he is seized by the King for a crime, how could the Samgha ask for a temporary release? On what ground? On the ground of equal power with the State or on sufferance? This seems to be obscure. Asoka

was friendly to these Samghas. It is a general belief among the Hindus that these religious bodies should be protected by the King. Even the Brahmanical theory respects the autonomy of heretical associations. Yajñawalkya wants the King to see that they continue to manage their affairs according to their own rules and traditions.²⁰ Narada wants the King to maintain the usages settled among heretics as any others.²¹ Happily, this phase of Church and State is absent in Ancient or Modern India.

We now see that the political theory of the west followed, broadly, the same trend of thought of the Buddhists. While the political theory of the middle Eastern people resembles that of the Brahmins.

The Early Christian Fathers were the founders of the Middle Ages. They were St. Ambrose the mystic, St. Jerome the humanist and Boethius the scholastic.²² Likewise, Buddhism has its mystics, humanists and scholastics. The pillars of Buddhist thought during the Christian Era were Asvaghosha, Aryadeva, Santi Deva and Aryasura. Buddhism of this period contained a dramatist in Asvaghosha, a psychologist in Santi Deva and a stern moralist in Aryadeva. Varied in occupations, united in religion, they proclaimed the republic of mankind against the monarchy of tradition and sacerdotalism.

NOTES :

1. PC. Bagchi: "Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine". 1927. First Volume is out. The others are not out yet, as far as I know.
2. Robert Wilhelm : "A Short History of Chinese Civilization' 1929 Chapter VI.
3. Sylvin Levi and a host of others, including Chinese writers, believe that Buddhism has influenced Chinese thought profoundly.
4. Williams : "A Short History of China." I mainly relied on Bagchi's "Le Cannon Bouddhique en Chine." This is the best book I know.
5. These include Syrians, Babylonians and Assyrians, Arabs, Phoenicians, Hebrews, etc.
6. As far as I know, I was able to consult only one book directly referring to "Politics in Warn", by S.K. Buksh. 143-243. In Sir Asutosh Mookirjee Silver Jubilee, Vols. Vol. 1, 1921 Sir Arnold Foster has given a series of lectures on "Political Ideas of Warn" at the School of Oriental studies, London. The only source is therefore "Koran".
7. Same in India. This holds true even today.
8. This is also a Brahmin conception.
9. The same is true of a Hindu King as depicted in Jatakas by Cowell.
10. Vedic kings : their invocations against Dasyus. Rig Veda Samhita (Hymns of Indra.)
11. From the second century to the seventh century A.D.
12. In his Introduction to "Niti Vakyamrita". Bombay Grantha Ratnamala Series.
13. D.R. Bhandarkar: "Carmichel Lectures", Calcutta, 1918.
14. They were the Friars and Dominicans of India.
15. Mahavagga viii, 13.6. Buddhaghosha, Sacred Books of the East, xvii, 236 n 1. Pali Text Society, 1908, p. 60.
16. Sir Charles Eliot: "Hinduism and Buddhism", Vol. I, 1921, p. 38.
17. Sir Charles Eliot: "Hinduism and Buddhism", Vol. I, 1921, p. 37.
18. Buddham Saranam gaschami
Sangham Saranam gaschami
Dharmam Saranam gaschami
This is what a Bhikku says when he enters the order.
19. Mahavagga II, S.B.E.
20. Yajñawalkya Samhita II, 192.
21. **Narada** Smriti X, 2,3. Both the above writers are Brahmins of the Early Christian Era.
22. "Founders of the Middle Ages", E.K. Rand, 1929. All references to Cicero, Seneca, Roman Lawyers and Early Christian Fathers are from Carlyle : "Medieval Political Theory". Vol. 1.

7. CONCLUSION

I summarised at the end of each section the principal ideas of the writers concerned. I will be repeating myself if I recapitulate them here. However, I will describe the general characteristics of the period as a whole.

The prevailing form of government is monarchy. It is by no means absolute. It is tempered by learned counsellors. Law is independent of the King. It is the expression of custom, the wisdom of accumulated centuries. Over and above the King is Dharma - "a brooding omnipresence in the sky." This is significant in two ways. Firstly, it exalted individualism in that it left to individuals to judge Dharma in relation to the King. Secondly, it let loose the forces of anarchy and pluralism. This is also the logical result of the principle of Toleration which is understood and defended as a principle by the Buddhists. It is true we find the notion of toleration in Brahmanism. It is not as a principle that we find it there but as an opportunist policy of the Brahmins to save their preeminence. Thus the central characteristic of this period is Dualism, Unity on one hand and Pluralism on the other. The history of India, like the history of ancient Hellas, is one long attempt to bridge the gulf between the two.

We find continual exhortations to the monarch to be just, upright and honest. These are so verbose, so pious, so platitudinous that they weary the reader beyond patience. What do all these show? These show that the people have not devised any other method by which the King could be held in check. They were yet to discover constitutional checks. It was left to the sixteenth century in Europe to discover such methods. This again is due to absence of legislation and the true heir to this theory is tyrannicide. Both the Buddhists and Brahmins advocated it. Buddhism has its Marianas, its Salisburys. This is essentially a Medieval doctrine.

The State is secular in origin, and the source of sovereignty is the people. Aryadeva and Asvaghosha point to this. Besides, Kingship

is an office. He is paid for the office he holds. None of the Brahmanical trappings of divine splendour are found in these Buddhist writers.

Just as slavery was condemned in the ancient world, so caste was condemned by these Buddhist writers on the ground of natural equality.

During this period, Hinduism is in the making. It is correct to style Brahmanism - the religion before Buddha as Hinduism. Sir Charles Eliot¹ does so for a designation. If I am allowed to use Hegelian terminology, Brahmanism represents the thesis, Buddhism and Jainism its antithesis, and Hinduism is the synthesis. This is the greatest contribution of Buddhism to modern Hinduism. Its thought is not dead. It still lives in the dead bones of Brahmanism. Scratch a Hindu, and you find a Buddhist. Some writers² including Hindus, almost with a vindictive glee, write that Buddhism is routed out of India. Modern Hinduism eclectic as it is, fluid as it is, has incorporated it. That is why Hinduism had been defined as "an indefinable eclecticism."

I now come to the conclusion that there is very little of political thought during this period. Buddhism has trimmed and tempered the conception of monarchy with its humanitarian ideals. It has purged it of divinity. It set aside the baneful influence of priests. It sought the origin of authority in people. It made kingship an office. It has relegated sacrifices to the background. Secondly, it exalted the conception of equality, and on that ground attacked caste.

Thirdly, it emphasised the rational aspect and the law of causation. What the Samkhya philosophers sowed through the labours of Charvakas and Lokayats, Buddhism reaped and Hinduism inherited.

NOTES :

1. op. cit. first vol. p. 40.

2. Almost all like Levi, Barth, Hopkins, Eliot and others.

APPENDIX

BUDDHISM AND CHRISTIANITY

"Christ and Buddha are not separate phenomena in human history but organically related."

C.E Andrews

It is fashionable nowadays to speak of Buddhism as dead and gone. This is not true. Buddhism is still a part and parcel of Hinduism. It did not disappear from India as some assert. It merged with the prevailing systems. According to one estimate there are about five hundred million Buddhists all over the world. Buddhism of the pre-Christian era, Buddhism of the early Christian era, Buddhism of the present era are entirely different. They have grown with the times and expanded with the desires of the people. Similarly, Buddhism in India and Buddhism outside India are totally different. Great is the power of time and place. Consequently it is very difficult to define what exactly Buddhism is. It is a religious expression of culture and civilization that flourished in India for the last twenty five centuries. It is an aspect of Indian social phenomena. It is a totality of conditions, beliefs, rituals that centered round Buddha's teachings, It is the greatest Reformation of the Asiatic world.

Here my purpose is to note the resemblances and differences of Buddhism and Christianity. Contemporary Buddhism is indeed an oceanic topic. Therefore one has to limit oneself to the study of early Buddhism and compare and contrast it with early Christianity. Such a study needs a preface of what early Buddhism is.

The founder is Gotama Buddha. He was born in 563 B.C., about 136 years before Plato. His dialogues are reminiscent of Plato. Buddhism, as Wells recorded, is beyond all dispute the achievement of one of the most penetrating intelligences the world has ever known. The following verse sums up the Buddhist doctrine in a nutshell.

“Commit no wrong, but good deeds to
And let thy heart be pure
All Buddhas teach this truth
Which will for aye endure.”

Buddhism stressed unceasingly charity, morality, patience, energy - a life of strenuous self exertion - and contemplation. It emphasised stern examination of views and ideas. It has no tolerance for tawdry superstitions. It extolled reason as the determining criterion of belief. It valued experience as an empirical fact. It was primarily a religion of conduct, not a religion of observances and sacrifices. It had no temples, and since it had no sacrifices, it had no sacred order of priests. Nor had it any theology. It rejected the soul theories of Brahmin priests. It protested against the ritualism of the Vedas. It neither asserted nor denied the reality of the innumerable and often grotesque gods who were worshipped in India at that time. It refused to discuss immortality. It exhorted the necessity of leading good life. It rejected the efficacy of fasting, and chose a via media between fasting and luxury. It insisted upon truth as the first requisite of its followers.

The elements that compose the ‘famous eightfold Aryan path’ which Buddhism preached, are Right Views, Right Aspirations, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness, Right Rapture. This path is essentially pragmatic. Buddhism anticipated pragmatism twenty five centuries ago. Its chief characteristic is its norm of filial and parental love. It is also characteristic of Confucianism. Parents, according to Buddhism, should train their children from vice, train them in virtue, have them taught arts and sciences, provide them with suitable wives and husbands and give them their inheritance. The child should say :

“I will support them who supported me

“ I will perform family duties incumbent on me

“ I will guard their property

“ I will make myself worthy to be their heir

“ I will honour their memory when they are gone.

The political and social aspects of Buddhism which Max Muller so warmly praises are indeed magistral. The social side of Buddhism is but seldom taken into account though the social revolution it represents has but few parallels in the history of the world. It thundered against the caste system that was just coming into vogue. It made one long research into the pretences of Brahmins. It waged relentless war on 'tricksters, droners and idlers' who trafficked on the ignorance of the people. It laid siege to the citadel of the 'most astute and oppressive priestcraft in the world' (Brahmanism). It denounced sacrifices. It purged monarchy of absolutism. It tempered the severity of law. It threw itself into an agitation for social reform, for removal of crying scandals, for promotion of social welfare. It combated poverty, by Samghas (Association of Monks). It was poverty that drew great concourses of humanity to Samghas more than the call of Buddha. The Samghas know no private property. They recognized no grades nor distinctions so far as material possessions are concerned.

Buddha is indeed one of the most commanding personalities ever produced by the Eastren world (Keith). He was the great friend of the common people who advocated universal brotherhood, universal equality and universal compassion for all forms of life (Monier Williams). This is what Anatole France has to say of Buddhism :

"It is hardly a religion. It is a system of morality and the most beautiful of all. It is a philosophy which is in agreement with the most daring speculations of modern spirit. It has conquered Tibet, Burma, Nepal, Cambodia, Annam, China and Japan without spilling one drop of blood."

Schopenhauer was influenced by Buddhism in his theory of will. He kept Buddha's effigy in his bedroom. He confessed that it gave him great comfort and solace in his later years. Bergson too admired Buddhism. I do not see how Kern could see idealistic nihilism in **Buddhism.**

The resemblances between early Christianity and early Buddhism are in three directions, those between the Gospels and the Buddhist accounts of the life of Gotama, those between the Christian and Buddhist monastic systems and public worship, and those between Christian and Buddhist moral teachings.

The accounts of Christ and Buddha were both written after 150 years after their deaths. There is one interesting difference. The Christian Canon was settled by the Council of Trent in 1546, while the Buddhist Canon was settled long before the Christian era. There is an interesting analogy to Christ's entry into Jerusalem, in Gotama's entry into Rajagriha the capital of the Buddhist Holy Land. One of the most constant and faithful of Gotama's followers named Ananda, occupies a similar position to that occupied by John in St. John's Gospel, while another of his disciples named Devadatta, who three times tried to have him killed and who succeeded in stirring up dissension in the community or Order which Gotama had founded, occupies a similar position to that of Judas in the Christian story. Both Christ and Buddha are reformers and leaders of a reaction against dependence on formal rites and the ascendancy of priestly caste. Both were born in uncritical age which believed in supernatural births, marvellous childhood and miraculous powers.

There is also an interesting resemblance between the Christian and Buddhist monastic systems. Spence Hardy believes that Christianity derived these systems from Buddhism. The Buddhist Bhikkus (monks) resembled the Catholic orders and the begging Friars of the West. They shave and have long flowing robes. The Northern Buddhist resemble mostly the European ones even in minute details like the use of rosaries, holy water and incense. Koppen sees the possibility of the influence of the missionaries on later Buddhists in the North. This is not correct, as Buddhists of the pre-Christian era observed the same minute details.

The resemblances in moral teachings are equally striking. All the moral teachings of Buddha are found in Pitakas (Buddhist Canons).

We find the same exhortations to boundless and indiscriminate almsgiving, the same hatred of pretence, the same regard paid to the spirit, the same importance attached to purity, humility, meakness, gentleness, truth and love. The manner of teaching is also the same. Like Christ, Buddha was wont to teach in parables and to use homely figures of speech, and many of the sayings attributed to him are strangely like some of those found in the New Testament. In this respect, Christianity has been anticipated several hundred years by Buddhism.

Both had conflicts against the doctors of divinity of their day. Both addressed themselves openly to the people. Both endeavoured to found a kingdom of righteousness.

How can we account for such a remarkable similarity? It is evident from external evidence that the Christians' knowledge of Gotama himself and of his order was most meagre, vague, and incorrect, and the Christians were completely ignorant of his philosophical teachings. If we seek in Buddhism for the historical origin of Christianity we shall be looking for what is not, for a philosopher's stone. This resemblance can be explained by the fact that similarity of conditions produce similarity of ideas and leaders.

The differences between Buddhism and Christianity should not be ignored. They are equally fundamental.

1. Christianity is theistic. Buddhism is agnostic. It denies the existence of soul. It openly confesses its ignorance of God.

2. Christianity never understood the principle of toleration until late in the 19th century. The Reformation let loose the flood-gates of persecution. Elizabethan England found the necessity of toleration. The political debates of the 17th century England drowned the still small voice of toleration. The complacent 18th century of Walpole and Pitt let it slumber, when the industrial 19th century had to accord it a legal recognition. You remember St. Paul's anathema on those who differed from him. Compare what Buddha has said :

"Brethern, if others speak against me, or against my religion, or against the order, that is no reason why you should be angry, discontented or displeased with them. If you are so, you will not only bring yourselves into the danger of spiritual loss, but you will not be able to judge whether they say is correct or not correct."

Notwithstanding sporadic instances, Hinduism knows no religious persecutions. The Buddhists stressed it (toleration) as a principle. The Brahmins practised it as opportunists. Toleration is the essence of the Religions of India.

3. Christianity was spread by the sword. It waged innumerable wars. It is interesting to recall Hugo Grotius' lamentation; "I saw prevailing throughout the Christian world a licence in making wars of which even barbarous nations would have been ashamed" (*De Jure Belli ac Pads prolegomena* S. 28). Nevertheless when he wrote these words the worst horrors of the "Thirty Years War" had not taken place. If the churches of Christendom had come together and said "Halt" in 1914, the Great war would not have taken place. But neither Brahmanism nor Buddhism, nor Jainism had ever waged wars, nor were they spread by sword or force. This is the chief glory of Buddhism.

Buddhism and Christianity centre round personalities like Christ and Buddha. Hinduism does not centre around any person. It is multiplex. Christianity, unlike Buddhism, and like Hinduism is Janus-headed. It has taken many attitudes. It took the attitude of asceticism, of indifferentism, of the maintenance of status quo, and of dynamic action. It contained, again like Hinduism, an element which was conservative and traditionalist. It contained an element which was revolutionary, a collectivism which grasped at an iron discipline and an individualism which spurned the savourlessness of human ordinances, a sober prudence which would gather the fruits of the world, and a divine recklessness which would make all things new. Buddhism maintained throughout one attitude. It maintained an attitude of dynamic social action. It maintained a collective revolutionary attitude. It founded, as Senart puts it, a new humanism

and a new social order. It created norms for the ideal society. It led to the foundation of Asokan state founded on Righteousness (Dharma). It brought religion from the priests to the market place. Like Christianity, as Gibbon tells us, it civilized and humanized the world it inherited.

Religion is a product of Society. Its experience is made in society. Nearly all the great social institutions have been born in religion. If religion has given birth to all that is essential in society, it is because the idea of society is the soul of religion. If this is sociologically sound, as Durkheim tells us, then its implications are obvious. No religion can pit itself against another except by a cataclysm. Unless the whole society is replaced by a new artificial society of its own pattern, religion does not gain a foothold. This is the reason why Christianity is a failure in the East. In order to succeed, it must circumscribe that social order, and institute in its place, its own social order. Christianity of to-day has not the moral courage nor inherent justice to set up such an order. In order to triumph, it must inculcate its own norms. The resistance it meets from the other society it tries to convert, is great. History moves in contradictions. This is the lesson that the missionaries have to learn.

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Editors' Appendix

124 Hancock st
Cambridge(mass)
5th may 30

My dear Brother.

I have not written to you for the last two weeks. I am again busy. I had my March hour exams. I am glad to let you know that in International Government I got 93 marks out of 100 (ie.A.) I was the only one who stood first in the class. I am sending the blue book. Please show it to Babu and Ranganayakulu. In International Law I have been getting steady B+.

Now I am on Reading period as there are no classes till June 5th. Afterwards the final exams begin. The University is closed from then till Sep. 25th. I have to read a lot for the courses. I am not going to take any courses in summer as I need a holiday. Besides I have to work for meals and money as a safe guard. But tell Babu I am taking courses and that I have to pay fees \$ 150.

Well brother, I finished my two theses. One for Govt 6 and another Gov. 8. They are entitled 'Political and Social Thought of the Buddhist writers of the Early Christian Era (125 pages, footnotes : Bibliography etc., another 'Democratic Control of Foreign Policy' (10 pages type-written) My God, I worked like a devil to complete these two. The second one I read to Mr Muhar. He appreciated it very much. He admires my English. He liked it so much that he asked me to read it twice. Example of one sentence.

"Its soil is circumstance, its environment is Society and its acceleration is the Press" (writing about Public opinion)

From the first one I read a few extracts to him as I had no time. I concluded the introduction thus.

"Political thought is not a vendor's article. It cannot be boosted from the house tops of Patriotism. It cannot enhance its reputation by a stray quotation from a Kautilya, a Yaisampayana, a Chandeswara, an Yukti Kalpataru. It is a slow unending process filtered from age to age. It is the creation of circumstances. Viewed from this point one would come at conclusions directly at variance with the school of patriotic writers. They

belittle plato and Aristotle because they are posterior to Kautilya, they minimise Hobbes and Machiavelli because of Manu and Mahabharata, they ignore Rousseau because of the social contract theories of Manu, Mahabharata and Jatakas. If only India had produced a plato and an Aristotle, the course of history would have run different".¹

This is how I ended the Introduction. I hope I would get A in both of them. They will be given back in June.

I am going to speak at Taunton in a couple of weeks on 'The political and social ideas of Mahatma Gandhi'. They promised to pay \$25 dollars. You asked me to send those books I read on Gandhi. Brother, I borrowed them from the library. It is cheaper to buy in India than here.

Again on 12th and 13 of this month I am going to Worcester for demonstration purposes to that company. Just for 2 days.

I am still in that job. I get 3 meals a day. I have been working for the last 4 months. I feel very tired. It will be closed in June. I have to find another work. I am trying from now on.

I happen to be a special student as such I was not allowed any scholarships. Otherwise I would have got \$ 500. My only hope is now in that Bowdoin Prize. It will be announced in a fortnight. If Babu fails to send my life will be a hell again. If I work like this there is going to be a breakdown. Besides I am going to have a degree this June. How happy I will be? You know how happy I will be. I will get A.A. Degree preliminary to graduate work. (advanced status in the university like B.Sc.) It is equalent to A.M ie MA. Next year I will get my final degree. So far I have a good record. I wish you know the tremendous difficulties I underwent in getting this status and the work I put. I work in all 15 to 18 hrs. week. Last night I went to bed at 2.30 am.

Now one bombshell. I thought I need not pay more than \$ 400 when I joined the university. It seems for every course you take you have to pay \$ 100. The minimum is 4 courses. I took 6 courses to finish soon. So now I have to pay 600 dollars. My heart nearly sank. I saw the Dean. He was not able to do any thing. I am requested to take 5 courses. But I took one course extra. If I did not take it, I would have saved 100 dollars. Now it is too late. I cannot drop. Even if I do, I have to pay fees any how. So this term bill came to 200 dollars. All the while I thought my troubles are over. So I kept 100 dollars safe. Now I have to pay 200 and then another 100 in June. I did not spend one dollar on dress. But fees 600/. So I borrowed \$ 75 from the Dean, Muhar gave me \$ 15. I have \$ 125. Thus I

paid the 4th term bill. Then in June I have to pay the last \$ 100. Otherwise my degree will be withheld. So go to Babu and explain the situation. He may not believe it but I will send the bills later on. Tell him you will show the bills later on. Besides I will send the rules. So as soon as you see this go to Babu and send as much money as you can. If he sends Rs 1000 like he did last time I can manage till Sep. I will promise. Please do not send less than 1000 Rs. It will be O.K. if he sends Rs. 1500. Well by the way how much did Babu promise to pay a year? That make sure. Fees 600 dollars, then \$ 15 a week boarding & lodging expenses. Calculate from this. I wrote him several times.

Then slowly broach for next year and passage money. Brother this time I want to spend at least 100 dollars for dress. I have absolutely none. So see that he sends not less than 1500. Then he can send the balance by Sep. I have this all to you. But if I do not receive by June I will be very much inconvenienced. Do not tell any thing of my work. Although I worked for meal etc. now I have no cent with me. If I had not worked, I would have been vased long ago. About Babu I leave to you. This is very important. You have to use your imagination. That is all.

About your job I pray you would get that secretariat job in Delhi. That will be good for you in many ways. Failing that I wish you would get a job as a private secretary to some Rajah. What about Rajah of Panagal? What about Maharaja of Vizayanagar? see Krishnayya about this. You will be a good Don Alvando there. Secretariat job is nice for you. You can shine there in your spats. But take any job temporarily. Do not care a two pence for others. Fight hard What Buddha says 'Strenuous self exertion'. Asoka, Kamandaka and Markandeya purana all emphasise in 'self exertion'. Even that Brahmin Rascal Yagnavalkya also says so. Fight, fight you win. I am sure you will do not lose heart. I admire you for your courage in going home first. So god will reward us. Best repentance is in service. That is my only inspiration. I often think of it. One day Happiness and Riches come our way. Good luck to you..

As for my part, I will come home as soon as I finish the course.

Are you receiving all my letters? Did you receive that photograph of mine which appeared in papers here? On Independence debate?

I see from your letters that you are busy. For God's sake take care of your health. Dont eat chillis and that blessed చింతపండు I say. where do you get your note papers? When I open your letters, I cannot find the note. It is so small and mean looking.

How is mother, brothers and all the rest.

Regards & love to all.

I suppose brother K.C.B is still angry with me.

Remain

Yours

Bala.

I enclosed papers showing how much is needed for a year a student (1200) and also another which shows that you have to pay 100 dollars for each additional course
please see that I get money by 2nd week of June.

Editors Note :

1. Following was the question raised and answered by Krishna against this para in the margin.

'What do you think?'

'I am sick of present day nationalists in India.'

**THEORIES OF KINGSHIP
IN ANCIENT INDIA**

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PREFACE

The ideas advanced in this paper are suggestive rather than exhaustive. I have not been able to utilise all the material I collected, as this paper is written to fulfil certain requirements of a course.

— *The Author.*

May 1932.

THEORIES OF KINGSHIP IN ANCIENT INDIA

I. INTRODUCTION

1

A conception of history laid in nature is the essential preliminary to any sociological doctrine which can claim the title of science. So true is this that no study of social life can have any scientific value except in proportion to the degree in which it inclines towards a materialist explanation of this topic. Materialist explanations are more and more in vogue wherever men of science devote themselves to the task of discovering the causalities between phenomena. In actual fact persons¹ who, far from being open advocates of the materialist conception of history, have never even heard of it, none the less act as materialists in their historical researches². "It is not man's consciousness that determines his existence, but his social existence that determines his consciousness." This was the conclusion that Marx arrived at in 1844³. He set forth this conclusion in the preface to his "Critique of Political Economy", published in 1859. Three quarters of a century have passed, yet the dictum, as Groce puts, is gaining fame and strength. It was not a Marxian but a timid socialist Robert Owen⁴ who exclaimed in 1821, that "man is the creature of circumstances. He really is, at every movement of his existence, precisely what the circumstances in which he has been placed, combined with his natural qualities, make him." Again it was a Catholic Acton who thinks that theories arise out of the conditions around⁵. Some names provoke violent prejudices. Some evoke admiration. Some instill acquiescence. But Marx like Buddha provoked many prejudices. Mondolfo thinks

that the word 'materialism' is unfortunate. The Marxian conception is rather a realistic conception, as opposed to Hegel's idealistic conception. Marx reasons not from the idea but from concrete human needs⁶. Such a realistic interpretation of history is a sure background for all our ideologies.

Elentheropoulos⁷ contends that the philosophy of every epoch expresses the outlook on the universe and on life proper to that epoch. This is not a new theory. Hegel already pointed out that every system of philosophy is nothing more than the ideological expression of its time. But in Hegel's view the peculiarities of the different epochs, and consequently, the corresponding phases in the development of philosophy, were determined by the movement of the Absolute Idea. According to Elentheropoulos, on the other hand, every epoch is mainly characterised by its economic condition. The economic life of each nation determines the philosophy of that nation, or rather, determines its outlook on the world, which finds expression in its philosophy. As the economic foundation of the society undergoes changes, there is a concomitant change in the ideological super-structure⁸. Broadly speaking, the relation between "foundation" and "superstructure" expresses itself into various processes. Firstly, there is the State of Nature and its History. Secondly, there is the relationship-political, social, or economic-which is conditioned by these forces of nature and history. Thirdly, there is the socio-political regime erected upon this given economic social and political foundation. Fourthly, there is the psychology of man in society, determined in part directly by economic conditions⁹, and in part by the whole socio-political regime erected upon the economic foundation. Lastly various ideologies arise, reflecting this psychology¹⁰.

Such a realistic interpretation of Indian culture brings out several significant points. In the first place, it brings into ridicule the traditional idea of the

immobility of Hindu ideas and institutions. This immobility is only of a recent growth. Sir Henry Maine¹¹ has pointed out how in the case of India, British rule has crystallized many customs and ideas which otherwise would have gone overboard. The same is true of Indian States¹². The British rule has created, legalized and protected these States. Two stages of immobility could be noted. The first stage begins from 7th century A. D. to 16th century A. D. This is the period of Moslem domination in one way or other. Most of the ideas and institutions got stratified during this period. Still they reacted to Moslem forces. The second period extends from the days of the East India Company to the "Indian Mutiny." Again during this period immobility was thrown out. After 1857 India became receptive to western ideas¹³.

Ancient India knew no such immobility. It has contacts with China, Babylonia, Egypt, Rome, Greece, Indo-Nesia, Africa and Phillipine Islands. It was a period of unceasing mutation. Buddhism and Jainism represent Asiatic Reformation. We can see on a wide scale the development of ideas and institutions. The silver age of Harsha, the golden age of the Guptas and the splendid age of the Mauryans - they have not been uniform. The political and social organization of the Andhras, Chalukyas and Pallavas differed from those of the Pandyas, Cheras and Cholas, if not in content at least in form. The constitution of the tribes and clans, later on the division of the society on functional lines into castes and guilds, the monarchical institutions, the republican institutions which abound in Buddhist literature and continued up to the time of Moslem conquest in the mountain fastnesses of Rajaputana, the 'Kingless States' of Pali literature, the Buddhist and Jaina Samghas, the village Sabhas and Samajas, the Ganas - they are not uniform. Even literature was not uniform. It was Bhandarkar¹⁴ who taught us that the Gupta period saw the wholesale revision and adaptation of Brahmanical literature, in

order to suit the altered conditions of the day and the militant character of the neo-Brahmanism or Hinduism. Jaina literature also adopted the Sanskrit literature to suit its own doctrines. Religion also underwent a change. The Vedic religion, reinforced by Upanishads gave way to Buddhism and Jainism, when later the Saivite Saints, Alvars, Sankara and Ramanuja asserted the old Brahmanic religion. Much altered, it found expression in eclectic Bhagavadgita. There was such mobility because the conditions were changing. Invasion after invasion poured forth the Asiatic barbarians into the fertile tracts of Hindustan. Ideologies came into conflict. Races came into clash. Institutions changed and gave way to new ones. Ancient India was a veritable seething cauldron of discord, and conflict because of the admixture of opposing cultures. All this mobility arose out of the actual conditions. Even in the two stages of immobility one can note ideological mobility. Basavalinga started a movement of revolt against caste system, only to be buried. Chaitanya flooded the whole of India with his gospel of equality, only to tighten the bonds of caste. Vemana arose in the South, only to be hushed by the titanic Brahmin structure. All these ideological ferments were reformist in character. They were Utopian in nature. They did not carry their conclusions to their logical end. Hence they all died away in the immensity of institutions which they attacked.

In the second place, such a realistic interpretation of history brings out the nature of the class and race-struggles in ancient India. Ancient India was class and race conscious. It began with the rivalry between Aryans and Dasyas. The Dasyas were always vilified by the Aryans. The Vedic hymns¹⁵ contain nothing but hatred against these Dasyas. The Aryan society in which the hymns of the Rigveda took their present form may have contained several racial and class elements. It is laid that its head was a foreign race of fairer skin and Indo-Germanic speech, warriors and priests proud and jealous of their blood and

traditions; its feet was a mixed populace of which the more civilized elements had learned something of the arts of peace from the Dravidians, whom they had incorporated and perhaps even borrowed some words of their language, while the lower strata were wallowing in savagery¹⁶. Ancient India, like the modern, was an ethnic pageant. Conflicts occurred, and they are bound to occur. Buddhism delivered a mighty challenge to the pretences of the various classes that arose during that period. The Brahmins were the dominant class. As I show later, they monopolized all power. Their ideologies were born of that power, to preserve the status quo, to discourage initiative and to suppress democratic movements. A page from Pargiter reveals the absurdities of the claims of these Brahmins¹⁷. They invented a social myth, an organic theory of caste. They say that the Brahmins sprang from the mouth of God, the Kshatriyas from His arms, the Vaisyas from His thighs, and the Sudras from His feet¹⁸. Could class conscious ideology go further ? Again a Sudra should not hear the Vedas (the scriptures). If he does, his ears shall be sealed with molten lead. So says Manu, the high priest of Brahmanism. All the law books prescribe differential treatment. It smacks of the proportionate justice of Aristotle. Justice is rendered according to the station of man. The social order acquired a divine sanction. The so-called primacy of the Brahmana, the strength of the Kshatriya, the utility of the Vaisya, and the low position and dependence of the Sudra were all assured. The Brahmanas enjoy the special protection of the Gods. They are the representatives of Gods. They are veritable Gods on earth. Their persons and property are inviolate¹⁹. It is to protect all these that Brahmins erected a socio-political structure. In order to justify these institutions, they invented the ideology of caste system, the myth of organic theory, the divine right of kingship, and the primacy of birth. When we come to the Buddhist literature, we find the theory of Brahminhood-class dominance-attacked on biological, ethical and histori-

cal grounds. Vasettha Sutta of the Sutta Nipita, Ambattha Sutta, Sonadanda Sutta²⁰, Dhamma-pada-²¹ all condemn the class-dominant theory of the Brahmins. Buddha always emphasised that the distinctions made between different men are mere matters of prejudice and custom. It is wisdom and goodness that make the only valid distinction that make a man a Brahmin²². Similar arguments frequently occur. In the Madhura Sutta, a dialogue between the king of Mathura and Kakkana, the point raised is whether the Brahmins are right in their exclusive claims. "The Brahmins say this, Kakkana: "The Brahmins are the most distinguished of the four divisions into which the people are classified²³. Every other division is inferior. The Brahmins are the white division. All the rest are black. They are accounted pure, the legitimate sons of God, born from his mouth and specially made by him." Buddha's answer is, first to remind the King of the actual facts of life-how a prosperous member of anyone of the four vannas (colours) would find members of each of the other three to wait upon him and serve him. There was no difference between them in this respect. Then, secondly he pointed out how a wicked man, whatever his vanna (colour) in accordance with the doctrine of Karma acknowledged by all good men, will be reborn in some state of woe; and a good man in some state of bliss. Thirdly, a criminal, whatever his vanna (colour), would be equally subject to punishment for his crime. And lastly a man, whatever his vanna (colour) would on joining an order, on becoming a religious, receive equal respect and honour from the people²⁴.

A Brahmin might object that all this ignores the important point that the Brahmins were originally born of Brahma and are his legitimate heirs. It was this claim to special connection with the mysterious powers of a supernatural kind, so widely believed in those days, that formed their chief weapon in the struggle. We find the Buddhist reply to that in the Agganna Sutta of the Digha²⁵. It is a kind of Buddhist

book of Genesis. In it the pretensions of the Brahmins are put forward in the same terms as those just quoted above from the Madhura Sutta.

Gotama replies that they make these claims in forgetfulness of the past. The claims have no basis in fact. It is righteousness and not caste distinction (vanna) that makes the real difference between man and man²⁶. Do we not daily see Brahmin women with child and bearing sons just like other folk? How can they then say that they are born of God? Had Buddha's views on the whole question won the day - and widely shared, as they were, by others, they very nearly prevailed - the evolution of social grades and distinctions would have gone on India, on lines similar to those it followed in the west, and the caste system of India would never have been built up.

Buddha represented the progressive social policy of his day. His analysis of the objective situation around enabled him to set the class dominance of Brahmins and their ideologies. He opposed them with all the knowledge he could command at that time. He emphasised rational terms to metaphysical terms. His limitations were those of the age. Yet with all that, he challenged the class structure of the Brahmins. Buddha was a Kshatriya. He was a noble. He mobilized a mass movement. But it later decayed because his movement was reformist²⁷.

In the third place, a realistic interpretation of history brings out another significant fact. It is the sociological import of religion. Politics and theology, when closely connected, bring forth a theory of divine right of kings²⁸. But they are not independent of the society. They have their roots in the society. It is high time we should abandon religious somnambulism. As the biologist Huxley²⁹ insists, religion is not an instinct, it is a cheap wisdom which preaches that "politics" is a gift with some people. It is a superstition which is as baseless as the Spanish superstition of Blue Blood³⁰. - Politics and

Religion "are the creation of circumstances and human forces." They are the product of society³¹. They are expressions of the economic conditions around. India is an immense sponge of religious ideas. It is not because that Hindus are mystical. It is because at a stage of her culture the Brahmins - being the dominant class-have taken advantage of the forces around, created ideologies and political structure suitable to their preservation. They successfully built their structure, retaining the important and conceding the unimportant. They grounded habitual obedience. They needed an Austinian determinate superior. They found him in a king who would protect them. Religion in India even today is an ideological expression of class dominance. Political supremacy fostered religious ascendancy³² and vice versa. This was clearly illustrated in the Gupta and Asokan Empires. The Asokan Empire propagated Buddhism. The Gupta Empire revived militant Brahmanism. This is another striking illustration of Religion being a tool in the hands of class ideologists. This is seen in Brahmin and Buddhist literatures. All scholars agree that Brahmin evidence is worthless. The more Brahmanical a statement is, the less trustworthy it is³³. The Buddhist evidence is polemical. Nevertheless it is trustworthy. A Brahmin attached high value to the Veda - to dispute it is blasphemy. He claimed even a higher merit for Puranas (Brahmanic productions). It is said that the Purana destroys all sin³⁴. It gives every blessing and even final emancipation from existence³⁵. It bestows union with Brahma³⁶. It raises one to Vishnu³⁷. It gives blessings equal rather superior to anything that Vedas could give³⁸ because it maintains their social order. These Puranas have the authority and stupidity of Pope's Encyclicals. Further a Brahmin has arrogated to himself the monopoly of revelation, religious ceremonies and rituals³⁹.

Antonio Labriola, for example, has endeavoured to show that the history of Christianity can be largely if not entirely explained by the evolution of property

and the organization of labour—that is by the economic life⁴⁰. These phenomena alone, he declares, can explain how a “society of equals” such as existed in primitive Christianity, could become a church dominated by a strict hierarchy, a state organization, exercising political influence and a conservative social force⁴¹. *Max Weber* and *E. Troeltsch* have proved that calvinistic and especially Puritan theology powerfully contributed to the formation of modern capitalism. *Tawney* substantially follows the same argument with a few modifications⁴². According to *Sombart*, the formation of capitalist mentality is to be attributed to the Jews and puritans⁴³. One cannot read the contemporary documents without being aware of the fact that the Protestant Reformation was a political revolution, chiefly incited by an economic grievance⁴⁴.

Let us apply this criterion to India. As *Durkheim* insists, it is Brahmanical speculation that prepared the way for Buddhism and Jainism⁴⁵. All Hindu religious ideas are born in the society. The Vedic religion is the product of the Vedic society. When the Aryans came to India, they invoked the Gods to help them win wars against *Dasyas*, because the *Dasyas* had prosperous cities. They were highly civilized though not well armed⁴⁶. It is the economic insecurity that led the Aryan in a bleak Himalayan background, to look to God for protection against *Dasyas*. The division of the sacred and profane was done in society because it was based on trial and error method. That God to whom is attributed success is auspicious, that to whom is attributed failure is profane. Animism has its spiritual background in material environment. The Vedic hymns loudly attest to the purpose for which they were invoked. They were invoked mainly for their defence and protection. Later when we come to *Brahmanas*, *Puranas* and *Upanishads* we find mention of sacrifices and gifts to Gods. Those that received these gifts were the Brahmins. They made their economic position quite secure by receiving gifts. In fact they made them obligatory. They invented

ceremonials. But the existing practices could be explained by the material circumstances. Magic has its origin in repelling an invader. By the sixth century B. C. Brahmanism was getting powerful. Historical events have a nasty habit of flying in the face of prophets⁴⁷. They certainly flew against Brahmins in the form of Buddhism. In times of faith which Brahmins reduced to a science of habitual obedience social upheavals naturally took a religious cast⁴⁸. Buddhism represents a social revolution. That is why it took a religious turn. The influence of religion is also seen in Temple Property. All the donations were to be administered by the priests for the benefit of the gods. He has to light a candle. He has to feed the poor. He has to bathe the idol gods. Instead, he never lighted the candle. He never washed the idol. He never fed the poor. He let the bats and pigeons roam at will in the precincts of temples. Above all he claimed exemption from taxation⁴⁹. The priest knew that the property was his. That is how the Brahmin freed himself from economic insecurity and began to peddle and trade in politics with his wares of "Absolutism" "Divine Right of Kings" and "Revelation".

Religion in India is synonymous with Brahmanism. It has been tempered by historical events. Still the Brahmanic ideology dominates. Samuel Butler once defined faith as the power of believing things that we know to be untrue. It is this power that the Brahmin wove into the framework of society. It is this power that was the basis of his organic theory of caste based on social inequalities. It is this that gave rise to the theories of Brahmin supremacy.

Summing up, " in their productive activities, men form certain necessary and inevitable relations independent of their own will. These relations correspond to a certain degree of development in their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations forms the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which the legal and the political

superstructure is erected, and to which certain definite social forms of consciousness correspond⁵⁰." This is the theory of historical materialism. Together with the theory of dialectics, they explain the tremendous conflict of ideas that occurred in Ancient India, the class and social struggles and the religious character of Hindu political ideas. It is in this background that I intend to discuss the theories of kingship.

2

A history of political thought consists not only in considering political classics but also the significant events of history. Unfortunately for us the history of India is still in the making. The greatest drawback of Indian civilization is absence of historical literature. India never produced a Xenophon nor a Thucydides⁵¹. History is one weak spot in Indian literature⁵². It is non-existent. It did not call forth a historian⁵³. Of late, Indian history is reconstructed out of literary, numismatic, inscriptional evidences. It has been supplemented by accounts of foreign travellers. Still it is incomplete. As such we have to be very careful of the interpretations we may advance.

As for political classics, since the discovery of Artha Sastra⁵⁴, there has been a regular crop of books. A national historical school arose, much to the detriment of scholarship. Jayaswal set the ball going. He made a special study to find out what constitutional progress, if any, ancient Indians had achieved. In 1911 and 1912 some results of the study were published in the legal journal, the "Calcutta Weekly Notes" and the Calcutta Monthly "Modern Review." A connected paper was read to the Hindi Literary Conference in 1912 and its translation published in the Modern Review, 1913 under the title "An Introduction to Hindu Polity."

Before the publication of the introduction there had been no work in any modern language on the subject. The introduction fulfilled its purpose. Today

the subject finds place in University teaching. All the references in Jayaswal's studies have been appropriated by subsequent writers. Today these studies spread to Italy. Carlo Formischi⁵⁵, Botazzi⁵⁶ and others have taken to the study of Hindu political theory. It has spread to Germany⁵⁷ and France. England did not take to this study. It is important to note the circumstances in which this school arose. The dominant ideas about India held by western scholars, as well as British administrators are that India knew no other form of government but despotic monarchy and that there is very little of political thought in India. So much so, these ideas are often repeated as a cause for the withholding of progressive responsible self-government. Naturally, as a sort of defence, since the discovery of Arthasastra, writers have taken themselves to the study of Sanskrit literature, with a view to obtain glimpses of political thought. Between 1906 and 1924, there has been a regular crop of books on Hindu political thought. Thus arose the national historical school. It is true, as Dean Pound observes, that the historical school⁵⁸ need not necessarily be national. But in the case of India, due to her political circumstances, this historical school has taken a nationalistic turn⁵⁹. Consequently such school failed to be objective. There is much loose talk about writing an objective history. In one sense, history could never be written objectively. Even Oman, when he comes to treat about the Norman conquest, betrays his violent prejudices as much as he does when he treats of the Indian Mutiny. Nevertheless history could be written objectively, not in the sense of presenting two sides in a so called academic fashion, but in the sense of estimating the significance of the forces in the light of the knowledge then existing. History is evaluation, in terms of what Bukharin call?, of the specific weight of the objective, progressive social force prevailing at a given movement. Every age is dual. It contains its own corrective. The corrective embodies the "conceptualized knowledge" (social force) in abstraction.

This is the measure by which inadequacies of historical movements could be noted. This measure is a part of what is. It is not of what ought to be. It is a part and parcel of the existing reality. In this sense objective history could be written.

But the Indian historical national school failed in two respects. In the first place they failed to take into account the objective situation, that is the existing reality around. They can be excused because there is no correct Indian history yet. Within limitations, they could have done better. Secondly they failed to appreciate the existing social forces, the trend in which they were moving. In this way alone could the movements of Buddhism and Jainism be evaluated. Instead of writing history in this way, they simply challenged western nations much to be detriment of the solution of Indian problems. Yet this school has rendered yeoman service. It cleared the debris for an interpretation of Indian history and culture in the light of dialectics. It dispelled the idea of the Hindu other-worldliness. It showed a few dazzling ideas comparable to Plato, Machiavelli and Rousseau. It unearthed the republican constitutions of Kshatriya clans-men, the democratic centralism of the Buddhist Sanghas, and an organic theory of State founded on social inequalities. Therefore one has to note the contradictions of this school, for an objective survey of Hindu political theories.

In this paper, I am concerned with Hindu political concepts or ideas rather than with actualities. Concepts have their value. They have ideological significance. According to Kantorowicz⁶⁰, a concept is not a proposition. It can neither be true nor false. It cannot amplify our knowledge. It may be useful in classifying it. Despite this concepts have a significance in so far as they are abstractions of a given phenomenon. They are as liable to be classified as true or false as any scientific concepts.

Ideas and institutions are closely related together.

They have their roots in the material circumstances in a historical background. Theory never moves very far away from the actual conditions of public life, yet the two things are different⁶¹. When we come to the Buddhist theory it is very difficult to differentiate the two. Buddhism is a historical category arising out of decadent Brahmanism. It is unintelligible save in the context of Brahmanism. The movement in political speculation of which Locke stands at the head was the result not of a pure development of scientific ideas, but of the necessity for having a theory to justify accomplished facts. Locke's essay on "Civil Government" is in truth an elaborate apology for the revolution of 1688⁶². He is its theorist⁶³, as James is the theorist of strict absolutism. We have to keep this fact in mind. This essay is an attempt at a historical survey of ideas but not institutions.

3

The theories described in this paper are attempts, by a synthetic method, to collect together such information as could be got on the political ideas and the principles underlying the institutions of the Hindus for carrying on administration. A subject such as this can hardly be regarded as fully worked up until the ideals of government obtaining at the time when they happen to be set down in writing, whether as general principles in the Dharma Sastras (Law Books) or specific instructions in the Artha Sastras (Political Manuals), are clearly and fully exhibited in the first instance. When this is done the result has to be compared and checked by such information as could be gleaned from even didactic works such as the portions of the Maha Bharata bearing upon Raja Dharma (Political Science), for instance, and other chapters scattered through the work. This has again to be compared with such details as could be got from works of a similar character. These two items may be regarded as constituting the literary sides of the work.

How far these ideas of literary men actually found vogue has next to be examined, and it can be done only by a study of the inscriptions ranging from the time of Asoka to quite modern times. The details that can be got in this body of records may not give us a general conspectus of Hindu political institutions as a whole. But such hints as we get may enable us, with the aid of the literary sources, to reconstruct to a great extent the institutions as they existed. This would prove a valuable source of confirmation of what we may be really able to reconstruct from the literary sources alone. This can again be verified and checked wherever possible from accounts that we get of the institutions that prevailed at any particular time from foreigners that left accounts of them either by design, or when they made casual remarks regarding them, in the course of their writing on their themes. It is when all this work is done exhaustively that we can at all hope to obtain a picture complete in all its details of the political ideas of India under the Hindus.

What follows is an attempt at reconstructing Hindu political ideas primarily from the first of these four items, letting information whenever available from the other sources to fill in where necessary. This itself is inadequate. It may be that I may be enabled to complete the work in the future, but as it is, the work is an attempt at doing this and no more.

Notes :

1. Like Henri See "The Economic Interpretation of History", translated by M. M. Knight, 1929. H. J. Laski, "Communism", Benedetto Croce, "Historical Materialism", translated by C.M. Menedith, 1922. Rodolfo Mondolfo, "Le Materialisme Historique" traduite l'italien Par le Dr. S. Jankelevitch, 1917. Antonio Labriola "Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History", (1896), translated by C. H. Kerr, 1908.
2. G. Plekhanov, "Fundamental Problems of Marxism", translated by D. Ryazanov, p. 59,
3. H. See op. cit, p. 47.
4. Robert Owen, "Report to the County of Lanark", 1821, p. 41.
5. Lord Acton, Cf. John Dewey. Lord Acton, History of Freedom and other Essays (Essay on Nationality) 1909, p. 272. John Dewey, "The instincts do not make the institutions; it is the institution that make instincts."

6. H. See, op. cit., p. 126.
7. A. Elentheropoulos, a Greek author whose principal work, "Wirtschaft und Philosophie (Vol. I, Die philosophie und die Lebensauffassung des Griechentums aus Grund der Gessells- chaftlichen Zustande", and Vol. II, Die Philosophie und die Lebensauffassung der Germanisch - Romischen Volker) was published at Berlin, in 1900, quoted Plekhanov, op. cit., p. 64,
8. Plekhanov, op. cit., p. 65.
9. The Word, 'Econoiric' is used in a monistic sense. The traditional divisions of the branches of knowledge (like political, social, economic) is given up by Marxians. See Labriola, op. cit., p. 140, 151. He calls this monistic conception unitary theory. A. S. Sachs, "Basic Principles of Scientific Socialism ' 1925, regards historical materialism as monistic materialism. See, M. M. Bober, "Karl Marx's Interpretation of History", 1927, p. 322.
10. Plekhanov, op. cit., p. 72.
11. Sir H. S. Maine, "VillageCommunities" 1st Chapter.
12. Rushbrook Williams, 'Cultural Significance of Indian States ".
13. See P. Sorokin "Social mobility ", 1927, p. 145.160.
14. K. V. R. Aiyangar "Considerations on some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity" p. 34. H. G. Wells. "A Short History of the World" (Labour Publishing p. 91-95. T. W. Rhys Davids, "Badihist India", p. 23". "Then suddenly and almost simultaneously and almost certainly independently, there is evidence about the 6th century B. C. in each of these widely separated centuries of civilizations (China, Persia, Egypt, Italy, Greece, India) of a leap forward in speculative thought, of a new birth in ethics, of a religion of conscience threatening to take the place of old religion of custom and magic."
15. Rig Veda X, 89,18; Rig Veda, i, 133, 5; Ibid., X. 87, 2; Ibid., i 182.4; Ibid., VIII, 96, 13. These hymns also invoke aid for prosperity. They prayed for success in agriculture, for victory over Pasus. For summary see S. V. Viswanatha, "Racial Synthesis in Hindu Culture", 1928, pp. 35-66.
16. L. D. Barnett, "Antiquities of India ", p. 3. See also R. Bhandarkar "Foreign Elements in Hindu Population."
17. F. F. Pargiter, "Ancient Indian Historical Tradition ". 1922, p. 32-33.
18. Rig Veda X, 90. Atharva Veda 1,9, 3; X, 6, 31. Aitareya Brahmana VI sec. I, I. Taittiriya Brahmana 1,2,6,7; III, 2,3, 9. O. N. Ghoshal, Hindu Political Theories, pp. 46. 48.
19. Beni Prasad, "The Theory of Government in Ancient India' 1927. p. 15.
20. T. W. Rhys Davids, - Dialogues of Buddha " (S. B. B. Vol. II) For Ambattha Sutta see p. 96 et. seq. For Sonandanda Sutta see p. 137 et seq.
21. For Dhamma pada. translated by Max Mueler, Pali Text Series, Edited by Fausobol.
22. Rhys Davids, cited above, p. 104.
23. Literally 'are the best colour' (Vanna with reference to the well known classification into four vannas, neither of which was a caste).
24. This Madhura Sutta has now been edited and translated with valuable introduction and notes by Mr. Robert Chalmers in- the Journal of Royal Asiatic Society. 1894.

25. The larger portion of this Sutta (from the beginning of the genesis part down to the election of the first king) is also preserved in the Mahavastu. See Senart's Edition, Vol. I, pp. 338-348.
26. The words here are quoted in the Malinda, Vol. I, p. 229. Rhys David's translation.
27. Many other instances of this class struggle could be given. Asvagosha in "Vajrasuchi" attacked caste on psychological grounds. All human beings are in "respect of joy and sorrow, love, insight manners and ways, death, fear and life all equal." G. K. Nariman, "Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism from Winteroitz, Sylvan Levi, Huber," 1920, op. 36-40; 200-201. Majjhima Nikaya 84, Madhina Sutta, See also Vinaya Pitaka, Chullavagga, IX. 1,4. Vdanavarga translated by W.W. Rockhill, Ch. XXXIII. Dhammapada, Ch. XXVI, translated by Max Mueller, p. p. 90-96. Tamil Literature also contains attacks on class ideology. See Manimekhalai, translated by K. S. Aiyangar, Book XXII, p. 171. For *Kapilar* see K.S. Pillai, 'Tamils 1800 years ago', p.p. 196-198. C. E. Gover, "The Folk Songs of Southern India. 1872. Telugu and Kanarese Literature also has attacks on class ideology. *Sarvajna* (1600 A. D.), *Vemana* Do. No other ideology has led to such polemical literature as class ideology in India.
28. N. Figgis, "Divine Right of Kings", p. 11.
29. Julian Huxley "What dare I think ? " p. 9.
30. Jayaswal, op. cit., p. 210.
31. E. Durkheim, "The Elementary Forms of Religious Life", translated by J. W. Swain, 1922, p. 10, 1419.
32. Pargiter, op. cit., p. 3.
33. Pargiter, op. cit., p. 13. Rhys Davids, the great Buddhist scholar is of this opinion: A glance at the abusive literature confirms this idea. They called the Dasyas, nose less people. They called them Demons, monkeys. "This abusive use led the attribution of evil characteristics to such people, who were then described as demonic beings. Pargiter, op. cit., p. 291.
34. Vayu Purana. 103, 55, 58; Vishnu Purana VI, 8, 3, 12,17.
35. Brahma Purana, 245, 32-3; Padma Purana, I. 62,20-23.
36. Vayu Purana, 103, 57.
37. Matsya Purana, 291, 32.
38. Linga Purana. II, 55, 40-1.
39. Pargiter, op. cit., p. 31.
40. Antonio Labriola. " Socialisme et philosophic " pp. 147 et seq. See Georges Porel, "Laraine du monde antique" for influence of economic considerations on church.
41. H. See op. cit., p. 95.
42. R. H. Tawney. " Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, " 1926, See Max Weber, "General Economic History" translated by F. H. Knight, Ch. 30.

43. W. Sombart, "The Jews and Modern Capitalism", 1913.
44. V. G. Simkhovitch, "Marxism Versus Socialism", 1913, p. 37.
45. Durkheim, Op. cit., p. 33.
46. Pargiter, op. cit., p. 290.
47. Leo Jacobs, "Social Thinking Shackled", 1931, p. 165.
48. H. See op. cit., p. 96.
49. Dikshitar, op. cit., 186-7. South Indian Inscriptions, ed. by Hutsch, Vol. ii, Pt. I, No. 22. Manu, i, 88; X, 75.
50. Marx, quoted in H. See op. cit., 47. Simkovitch, op. cit., p. 31. "Scholarly Criticism, like that of Stammer, seligman and others, has considerably broadened and modified the theory *but has not overthrown it*.
For R. Stammer, see "The Theory of Justice", translated by I. Husik, 1925, Appendix II, pp. 563 and 579.
51. Rajendra Lal Mitra "Antiquities of Orissa", 1875, Vol. I, p. 1.
52. A. A. Mac Donnel, "A History of Sanskrit Literature" 1899, p. 10.
53. Max Mueller, "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature" reprint 1912. First published 1859, pp. 10 and 16. Cf. V. A. Smith, "Akbar", p.5-6.
54. By R. S. Sastry, in 1906.
55. Carlo Formischi, "The Hindus and Their Political Science" Bologna, 1899.
56. G. B. Botazzi. Precursors of Machiavelli in Greece and India -Thucydides and Kautilya," Risa, 1914.
57. Meyer, "Studies in Arthasasthra."
58. Roscoe Pound, "Interpretations of Legal History" 1923, p. 19.
59. Cf. Sir P. Vinogradoff, "Historical Jurisprudence", 1920, Vol. I, p. 124-135.
60. H. Kantorowicz, "The Concept of State" Economica, Feb. 1932, No. 35, p. 5.
61. Carlyle, Mediaeval Political Theory, vol. I, Preface V.
62. F. Pollock "History of the Science of Politics", 1833, p. 69.
63. H. J. Laski, "From Locke to Bentham", (H. V. L.) p. 1.

II. THEORIES EXPLAINING THE ORIGIN AND NECESSITY OF GOVERNMENT (THEORIES OF THE STATE OF NATURE)

1

Institutions arise out of circumstances.¹ So does kingship. The rationalistic school assumed a state of nature which necessitated the rise of kingship. This is expressed in the concept of Matsya-Nyaya which occurs throughout the length and breadth of our literature. The guiding principle of this theory is "might is right". Literally rendered the term Matsya-Nyaya means "the logic of the fish". In other words the law of the greater fish devouring the small ones. We have descriptions of it in the Ramayana,² the Mahabharata, the Kautilya, the Smritis and even in many political works.

According to orthodox traditions as expounded in the Artha Sastra and the Itihasas, the original state of nature was one of ideal bliss when people naturally led a moral life, perhaps born of regard for humanity in general. They were not bound down by laws or conventions and systems. The condition of existence in such a state of affairs was one of ideal happiness. "Men ruled themselves by Dharma (Law of Nature) and respected each other's rights, though there was no king no punishment or chastiser³."

This ideal state however did not last long. It gave place to a period of insecurity and even savagery when chaos and anarchy reigned supreme. Might was the order of the day. People had no regard for human and divine order. The very social existence was made impossible. It was felt that over the whole world were spread the wings of destruction and the day seemed not far off when it would reach its end. This peculiar state of nature is also described as Arajaka in the Santi

Parva of Mahabharata. Arajaka simply means a state with no government⁴. According to the then prevalent standards, government was indispensable for a state. No government no state is the principle underlying the Raja Dharma section of the Mahabharata. Unprotected by an authority the state⁵ becomes subject to plunder and devastation by marauders. People devour one another. Life becomes unsafe. A person cannot enjoy the possession of his person and property. The wicked rob the weak and the innocent of their wealth, and themselves also suffer in turn. Women are forced to give up their chastity. The atmosphere is pervaded by an all-round darkness. Like fishes in a small pool of water, and like birds in the toils of hunters, people injure and kill one another. People in a state of anarchy are compared to a herd of cows without a cow-herd, and hence confront insurmountable difficulties in the maintenance of their family and property. The spiritually minded are often thrown into the jaws of death. No regard is shown to parents, the aged, priest, or the guests. The rich every day are murdered or put in chains. Women themselves become loose in morals. Agriculture, trade or commerce does not thrive. The Vedas begin to disappear and the performance of sacrifices ceases. There are no regular marriages, nor well-conducted assemblies. Unrighteousness and injustice prevail. There is an intermixture of castes, and religious authority is openly defaced. No one sleeps without fear, and famine stalks naked. As in the Mahabharata, so also in Manu Smriti, the word Arajaka equates with Matsya-Nyaya⁶.

The state of Arajaka is elaborately described in Ramayana. It is the prime cause of all ruin to the state. There will be no seasonal rain, no fruitful crops, no obedient son or wife, no private property, no truth, no assembly, no beautiful parks or sacred places of pilgrimage, no performance of sacrifice, no theatrical amusements, no festivals or festivities, no learned lawyers, no pleasure-drive with family in swift-going vehicles, no peace, no sleep for

7. All primary social institutions being thus violated, social existence ceases⁹.

It will not be out of place to examine the concept of the state of nature in Buddhist literature. In it¹⁰ we also come across some pictures of the pre-political condition of mankind. The description is in the form of a historical narrative and merely traces the origin of kingship and explains why a king is called a Miha-Sammata and a Kshatriya. Here as in Mahabharata the state of nature may be divided into two stages of which the first one seems to be an era of bliss. Because of inquisitiveness and desire for food the primitive beings took to eating the rime which formed on the surface of the ocean and earth mingled together. "The complexion of those who ate but little of this food was clear, whereas that of those who ate much of it was dark." In this way distinctions arose, and they whose complexion was clear, were proud of it and became sinful, and iniquitous. Thus a period of gradual degeneration sets in, and this is the second stage of the state of nature. The distinction of sexes became prominent because of eating rice and the inevitable result of this was the evolution of love, lust and fornication. The conception of wrong was gradually emerging, but a wrong doer feels insulted, when some one exclaims, "thou doest that which is wrong"¹¹. The institutions of family and property make their appearance as a result of contract¹², but it is soon found that some people do not respect the sanctity of property rights in the prepolitical society. When a man whose food has been stolen complains to others, saying that he has been wronged, the thief is reprimanded, but the men who caught hold of the thief and brought him before all, are also reprimanded because of their bringing him into their midst¹³. Such a state of society is surely unbearable, and the only way of escape lies in choosing one who will be the protector of the fields and who will receive the homage of all.

There is another theory which seeks to explain the origin of kingship in war. This theory is found in

the rich even with doors shut, no learning or practice of arms, no caravan traders, no self-controlled men enjoying solitude and bliss, no army conquering hostile armies, no temple worship and no enjoyments of any sort. The kingdom without a king resembles a river without water, a forest without pasture and cattle without a cow-herd. In such a territory nothing is one's own. The people swallow one another like fishes. Thus both the Epics and the Dharma Sastras like Manu Smriti and the Puranas like the Matsya Purana are quite at one as regards the nature of an Arajaka territory. That this notion continued to prevail even centuries after is demonstrated from the election to the throne of Gopala of the Pala dynasty of Bengal. It is said that the people elected Gopala to free themselves from a state of anarchy, or Matsya-Nyaya. This Gopala was the father of Dharma Pala who lived in the ninth century A, D⁷.

There is again reference to this concept of Matsya-Nyaya in Raghunatha's "Laukika-Nyaya-Sangraha ", a work attributed to the fifteenth century A. D. He explains this as occurring frequently in the Purana and in the Itihasa literature and quotes Vasistha in the course of Prahladahyana⁸.

The main points in these descriptions are that they harp on the following:

1. In such a condition, the strong claim everything. Two unite against one and rob and despoil him. The weak invariably suffer.

2. The weak are enslaved.

3. Women are snatched away and violated,.

4. The idea of private property or of ownership passes away.

5. With the passing away of private ownership or marriage social ties cease to exist.

6. Hence individual efforts or socio-economic activity ceases.

Aitareya Brahmana. It asserts that the Devas, i. e., their worshippers, the Hindus, originally had no king. In their struggle against the Asuras when the Devas found that they were repeatedly defeated, they came to the conclusion that it was because the Asuras had a king to lead them, they were successful. Therefore they decided to try the same experiment. And they agreed to elect a king.

" The Devas and Asuras were fighting. The Asuras defeated the Devas. The Devas said 'It is on account of our having no king that the Asuras defeat us. Let us select a king.' All consented¹⁴."

Whatever the historical truth in this theory, the important point to note is that kingship is contemplated to be a necessity for leadership in war.

Such being the consequences of kingless regime, a ruler is according to them absolutely necessary to maintain the primary institutions and to protect the subjects. Thus arose the idea of kingship.

After all, as Mac Ilwain observes, the history of political thought is history, and the tests ought to be historical rather than metaphysical¹⁵. Let us apply the historical tests to these theories of the state of nature. There is no definite historical evidence as to the existence of these states of nature. We have neither evidence for the golden age of innocence nor for the age of anarchy. Both are instances of man's inability to cope with the immediate needs of the society. A natural result of such an inability is a spiritual escape into a method of apriorism. The escape finds expression in a picture of an age of innocence or anarchy. A discovery of an unknown proposition to meet the existing situation is the result. A cause is sought for the effect. A rationalization is brought to explain the need or necessity for coping with the situation. In the Hindu, mind is fertile for apriori deductions. To him ideas are realities. The starting point of Hindu

speculations are assumptions, no matter whether they are right or wrong. Assuming the truth of the propositions, the logical deductive conclusions that a Hindu draws are highly symmetrical and infallible. The two theories of the state of nature belong to this type of apriori thinking. They have no basis in history.

However they are valuable for the underlying ideas that they suggest. The chief contributions of Rousseau and Hobbes¹⁶ lie in this. They unceasingly stressed upon the necessity of the machinery of government adapting itself to the needs of society. Government arises, as the needs arise. This is the lesson of Leviathan and social contract. This is the basic idea of the Hindu theorists as well. Instead of expressing realistically they chose the metaphysical way. The Hindu theories combined the realism of Hobbes and the idealism of Rousseau. Not only that, they gave priority to the state of innocence, preceding a state of violence. Stripped of metaphysics, the theories of the state of nature reveal some important political ideas.

1.They emphasise the need of government to meet the needs of society. A conception of an order regulating the affairs of men is fore shadowed. They emphasise the discovery of authority as necessary and natural to the regulation of human affairs.

2.They emphasise the need of coercion. It is not enough to have a ruler or an authority. It must be coercive. Without coercion the weak are bound to suffer, and all social conventions including the Vedic discipline and all other moral relations are likely to be swept away¹⁷. This coercive jurisdiction cannot be vested in ordinary subjects, since this would but result in the dominance of the same principle of tyranny of the strong over the weak¹⁸. Hence all coercive authority is to be vested in the king. He is to act impartially and administer the laws with a view to maintain the life, property and discipline of his subjects. Danda or coercion preserves the four orders and defines the limit of the activity of individuals and

castes. Danda was thus conceived to be the basis of political society. It was regarded as the primary principle in the evolution of the state, of justice, of society. It was essential to the exercise of regal authority. In other words, the basic idea that these theories emphasise is that coercion is socially indispensable¹⁹.

3. They also emphasise the need of norms by which coercive authority is to regulate society. These norms were not of the creation of the coercive authority but exist independent of it. The Epic thinkers attribute a divine origin to these primary laws and principles. These came to be known as Dandaniti, a name often applied to the art of government by the Epic and Arthasastra thinkers²⁰. While Epic writers attribute to Dandaniti a divine origin, the Dharma Sutra writers make them part and parcel of the divinely originated Dharma. Dharma is self-existent and upholds the universe. In its concrete and social aspect it comprises the sum total of rules guiding the relations subsisting between individuals and their functions relating to the whole. Its various functions depend on the position of the individual in society. The transgression of Dharma leads to the disruption of harmonious relations in the universal system, and as such brings in a state of discord. In social life such discord produces evil, and to avoid such discords punishments are necessary, since thereby the normality of relations is restored. In political life, it is the duty of the king to enforce laws which exist apart from his authority.

Regal authority being of so vital importance, royalty and the office of the king came to be glorified. The Santi Parva chapters contain dissertations on the importance of kingship and explain the social and ethical reasons which call upon men to respect the sovereign majesty of the king, though he was but an ordinary individual of flesh and blood like his subjects. The Mahabharata says:

"In Raja Dharma (Political Science) are realized all forms of renunciation, in Raja Dharma are united all sacraments, in Raja Dharma are combined all knowledge, in Raja Dharma are centered all words."²¹

This is another feature that the theories of the state of nature emphasise. The Hindu theorists, having established the case for the necessity of government, next dealt with the theories of kingship.

At this stage it is important to discuss the point as to why the theorists took monarchy as the only form of government. At this stage of Indian culture and history the known form of government is Monarchy. There is abundant proof to this effect. It seems on the whole to be a historical fact that kingship was the normal polity of the early Aryans in India²². We come across the word Rajan which means the king or the person who rules²³. That the family was of the patriarchal type is certain. The family unit effects in a large measure the political unit, and determines to some extent the economic organization of a nation²⁴. Society was patriarchal. Their Vedic pantheon of Gods was also conceived in a patriarchal manner. Naturally the theorists having convinced themselves of the necessity of government, could not conceive of anything but patriarchal rule. They were circumscribed by prevailing modes of thought at that time. Society was patriarchal. The hierarchy of their Gods and Goddesses was patriarchal. Their authority was to be patriarchal²⁵. That is why they came to the idea of kingship. Let us now examine the theories of kingship.

2

There are two traditional schools of thought, one describing the origin of kingship as divine, and the other human. In the Mahabharata Bhishma recounts how kingship was instituted when the world was in a state (in the sense in which Hobbes uses the term) and when people suffered untold misery arising from a

state of anarchy, the Devas approached Vishnu and requested him to appoint the best leader of men. Then from his mind sprang Virojasa. But he did not wish for the overlordship of the earth. His son Kirtiman and his son Kavedama were of the same temperament. But Ananga, son of Kardama, ruled the people according to Danda Niti²⁶. So also did his son Atibala. But his son Vena conducted himself badly by taking to unrighteous ways. The sages had him killed by the use of a charm. Out of his right thigh sprang Nishadas and Mlechchas. Out of his right hand came Vanya, accoutred in military attire and versed in Dandaniti. He satisfied the sages by promising to rule according to the laws of Dharma and to render even-handed justice by looking upon friend and foe alike. On this the sages vested him with the office of kingship and appointed Sukracharya his priest, while the Valakhilya sages and Sarasvata Ganas became his ministers. Garga was appointed astrologer, Suta and Magadha entered into their respective duties, and Vanya's government was an ideal government. Wealth and treasure flowed from the mines of the land and the ocean, as well as from mountains. Under his rule the whole earth was tilled and cultivated with seventeen kinds of grain. He first got the name Raja by giving his subjects the greatest amount of happiness. He got the name Kshatriya for having freed the peoples from all their troubles. Under him again the earth became Prithvi for the king's name was Prithu. Even Lord Vishnu was pleased with his great acts and deeds, and entered his body. From that time onward Prithu became infused with divinity²⁷.

In the Samarangana Sutradhara of Boja²⁸ the account of the origin of kingship resembles that of other texts in regarding Prithu as the first king. Here he is described as possessing prowess like Indra and the Lokapatas, and the strength and valour of the lion, the king of the beasts. While consecrating him, the creator addressed the people: "Prithu is the overlord

of you all. He will afford protection to the good and punish the evil-minded. He will be a Nrupa by ridding you of all your fears. He will render even-handed justice and carry on an efficient administration so as to preserve the well-being of castes and stages of life." On this, the people addressed the king : 'O lord of the earth, shelter us from the sea of troubles in which we are struggling hard.' Prithu replied: "Do not entertain any apprehension. I shall free you from all your difficulties. I shall establish the Svadharma (the right to follow one's own duty), Varnashrama (the order of castes), and Asramadharma (the order of the stages of life), and enforce them with the rod of punishment. I shall establish hamlets, villages, townships and cities, and make the earth yield plenty- In this manner I shall endeavour to increase your happiness and prosperity to the utmost²⁹."

There is vast testimony to the fact of the human origin of the institution of kingship. Kautilya says:

" Under the storm and stress of anarchy the people elected Manu as their king³⁰." In this passage Kautilya lends the weight of his authority to the human origin of the state. The word 'people' distinctly emphasises the human origin of kingship. The state of nature became so depressing that the people had Manu, son of Vivaswan appointed as king. The terms on which the office was conferred on him are also given. The people agreed to pay 1/6 of the grains in kind, one tenth of other articles of merchandise, besides a portion of the gold in their possession. Such wages to the king were in return for his guaranteeing to the people their social welfare. Towards this end the king enforced order and obedience by varied forms of punishment, and by means of levy of "several fees, in return for the king's protection, even hermits in the forest produced for him. The king was the visible awarder of punishment as well as favours, and hence he occupied a position only equal to that of Indra, the lord of heaven, and Yama the lord of justice. To

disregard him was to incur punishment. On this account it was ruled that kings ought not to be disrespected.

The Santi Parva of Mahabharata has also reference to the story how Manu became the first overlord of the Earth. Here we meet with the peculiar doctrine of Samaya or contract. When anarchy showed its abhorred head, people felt the need for peace. Hence they entered into a contract among themselves to the effect that the boaster, the cruel man, the violator of woman's chastity, and of agreements in general should be banished from the land, so as to create ease and confidence among all communities. But still the arrangement was not fruitful. They appealed to Brahma who in turn appointed Manu, the best among men, to rule as well as reign. Manu realized to the full the responsibilities of overlordship and expressed his unwillingness to rule over a people addicted to untruth and all other sins. On this the people agreed to give one cow for every fifty cows sold or bought, one fifteenth of gold and one tenth of grains, besides an -accomplished maiden in marriage and a number of armed men to follow him. In return they asked for peace and protection. Manu accepted the office, and set out for conquest. People took to their own professions (Svadharma), and the social welfare of the world was accomplished.³¹

There are then two schools with different traditions, one describing Manu as the first king, and the other Prithu as the first king. The two accounts appear to be contradictory. Dikshitar tries to explain it in this way. Both of them agree in the theory of an original state of nature, when the laws of nature were highly respected and adhered to. The original state of nature became in course of time transformed into the Hobbesian state when on appeal the creator appointed Prithu to rule over the earth for the preservation of social well-being, according to Samarangana Sutradhara and other texts. After the lapse, perhaps,

of several centuries commencing with Prithu, there again set in a state of anarchy, another form of the state of nature when the practice of Matsyanyaya (might is right) held sway in the realm of mankind. It was so distressing that people elected from among themselves the best namely Vaivasvata Manu as their overlord by entering into a contract with him. In this way he thinks that both the traditional accounts can be easily and satisfactorily reconciled. That Prithu was an earlier king than Vaivasvata Manu is evident from the fact that while there is reference to Prithu in Vedic literature as the first of consecrated monarch³². There is no such reference to Vaivasvata Manu.

The two theories are remarkable in the history of Indian political thought. They are clearly based on two Vedic traditions. They differ in analysing human nature and thereby postulate two different states of nature like Hobbes and Rousseau. They came practically to the same conclusion. They both hold that:

1. Kingship is necessary for the existence of society.

2. The absence of regal authority leads to violence

3. The king though he is vested with power and authority must be within proper limits.

But the main point of conflict of the two theorists lies in the fact that in one, kingship is regarded as a divine institution, though later on, the king's rights were put within bounds and he was compelled to take the oath, while in the other theory kingship is regarded as a human institution valued only for its utility.

It is difficult to decide as to which of the two theories is older. But it is quite clear that the theory of kingship is intimately connected with the Vedic tradition about Manu and his services to mankind. In later times, its influence on the evolution of Indian political thought was very great. For we find in this

theory a number of ideas were so commonly accepted and to which we have references throughout our literature. The chief points of interest about it are that:

1. A state of war existed in the absence of a king.

2. The earliest king ruled by virtue of popular choice. Sovereignty lies with the people and they can expel a tyrant and elect a new king.

3. The king's rights arise by virtue of a bilateral contract between the people and him.

3

Regarding the human origin of kingship, two concepts are associated with it. They are election and contract. The theory of the original elective character of royalty was also connected with the belief that the taxes paid to the king were but his remuneration for his services of protection and justice. Both in the sixty seventh chapter of the Epic and in the Agganna Suttanta we find this as the necessary corollary to the hypothesis that royalty arose in a compact or contract between the ruler and ruled³³. In the Buddhist account, the people are made to choose the Mata Sammata and in lieu of his services they agree among themselves to pay a share of the paddy (grain). In the Epic account, however, the people enter into communication with Manu the king elect after laying down certain conventions for their own guidance. They lay down the terms of the contract and this seems to have been a bi-lateral one with rights and duties on either side.

1. On the part of the king, he was to protect the people.

2. On the part of the people, they were to obey him and in lieu of his services they were to grant him 1/50 of cattle and gold, 1 /10 of the produce of fields, together with the handsomest damsel.

This idea that the taxes paid to the king were his

wages, is found throughout our literature. In the epic Mahabharata, we are expressly told that the king was to maintain peace and justice and receive the 'sixth part' as his "wages" or his remuneration for protection. Furthermore, a king who failed to protect or administer properly, was regarded as a thief³⁴, stealing the sixth part unrighteously. Again, in AdiParva³⁵ we find an infuriated Brahmin, who was Invoking the aid of Arjuna expressly reminding Arjuna that a Prince failing to protect his subjects was a thief who stole the "sixth part". How old these ideas are is to be ascertained from the fact that the Dharma Sutras which are certainly pre-Buddhistic, show clear evidence of their influence. Gautama clearly says that the king "receives part of the produce of fields and tolls on articles since he protected all these." ³⁶ Bodhayana also says that the king was to protect with the sixth part as his wages³⁷, while Vasistha grants the sixth part of the wealth of his subjects to the king on condition of his protecting them according to Dharma³⁸.

While the Epic and the Dharma Sutras are unanimous in holding regal rights as arising out of contract, there are other important facts which point to the contractual nature of royal rights. Even in very ancient times, the Epic and the early law books lay down the maxim that the king was to make good the loss of his subjects caused by thieves and robbers. This clearly confirms the contractual nature of regal rights; for, if we believe rights as arising out of king's sovereign majesty, then this provision would not have found place in the Epic or in subsequent legal texts like those of Kautilya, Yajñawalkya, and even Narada and Katyayana³⁹.

The Buddhistic theory of the origin of kingship is most remarkable, because the familiar concepts of the state of nature and contract occur in it. Naturally kingship is a human institution, where the ideas of election and contract come in. It is more so because of the agnosticism of the Buddhists. The stories in the

various Jatakas are apt illustrations of this mode of thought. Logically, Buddhistic thought cannot sanction divine origin or divine right, because in essence, the Buddhistic movement was a stern revolt against the inequalities of the Brahmanic system and the Buddhist Dhamma-chakka cannot be founded on principles of justice, equality and brotherhood. The nature of kingship in Arya deva's "Chaluhsatika"⁴⁰ follows logically from the story of Matra Sammata in the Dighanikaya. A somewhat similar conception is seen in the Mahavastu Avadana⁴¹. Ghoshal thinks that Buddhist theory of contract virtually exists as an isolated phenomenon in the history of Hindu political thought⁴². But Jayaswal traces this theory even to the Vedic hymns, where the rituals of royal consecration were based on elective principles⁴³. The evidence seems to support Jayaswal's view. The idea of contract is postulated in Raghuvamsa⁴⁴ and in Arthasastra⁴⁵.

Actual election at times did take place even in post-Vedic times. Megasthenes notes that after Svayambhu, Buddha and Kartu, the succession was generally hereditary but that when a failure of heirs occurred in the royal house, the Indians elected their sovereign on the principle of merit⁴⁶.

4

The monarch however appears as human and not divine in early Vedic literature. In the Rig Veda⁴⁷ for instance, the description of the monarch does not clothe him with divinity. In the soma sacrifices dealt with in the Yajurveda and its Brahmanas, he, as the sacrifices becomes identified with Prajapati or other deities during their performance, but this is only pro tempore⁴⁸, though it might have served as a factor towards the ultimate formation of the conception. The conception emerges in the epics and becomes the nucleus for several others allied to it in those as well as other works. He is identified with several divinities⁴⁹ Sukrar Brihaspati, Prajapati, Babhru (Vishnu), Fire, Vaisravana,

Yama⁵⁰. He is likened to a god⁵¹ or to Prajapati⁵² and is the personification of Dharma⁵³ (right and law) and Danda⁵⁴ (good government).

The deification of the king was preceded as early as the Satapatha⁵⁵ by that of the Brahmanas who studied and taught the sacred lore, and thereby also of the royal priest. The divinity of the king and Brahmanas is also echoed in the law codes and later Sanskrit literature. In Manu, for instance, a Brahman is an eternal incarnation of the sacred law, lord of all created beings, natural proprietor of all that exists in the world, others subsisting only through his benevolence⁵⁶. Ignorant or learned, he is a great deity like fire, whether carried forth for the performance of a burnt oblation or not, or existing in a crematorium or a place of sacrifice⁵⁷. Though employed in mean occupations⁵⁸, he should be honoured. By his origin alone he is a deity even for the gods⁵⁹. He is the creator of the world, the punisher, teacher, and hence benefactor of all creatures. He can create other worlds, other guardians of the world, and deprive the gods of their stations⁶⁰.

A king again is an incarnation of the eight guardian deities of the world, Moon, Fire, Sun, Wind, Indra, Kubera, Varuna, and Yama; the Lord created the king out of the eternal particles of those deities for the protection of the universe⁶¹. Hence he is like the sun dazzling in lustre and able to burn eyes and hearts⁶². Through his supernatural power he is the great Indra as well as the aforesaid eight guardian deities⁶³. Even an infant king should not be despised; a great divinity as he is in human form⁶⁴. The taint of impurity does not fall on the king, for he seated on Indra's throne⁶⁵.

Thus we see that the Hindu view is sometimes in favour of a human origin, sometimes in favour of a divine one. Sometimes the king is of the lineage of God, like the Pharaohs, as when Prithu is said to be the eighth from Vishnu. Sometimes the notion is that

the institution of kingship is divine but not necessarily the king himself. In *Manu* both the notions are prominent. Even if things be of divine origin, it is rarely that he rules by divine right; for there are the concepts of *Dharma* and *Danda*, the latter in an abstract sense placed over the king. When it is a case of divine origin, the concept of duty on the part of the king is prominent, and *Raja-Dharma* sections of the *Dharma Sastras* illustrate that. Sovereignty, when viewed as a thing of divine origin, is a matter rather of duty than of right and this line of thought is first evident in the writings of the Canonical school, according to whom politics is a part of practical ethics. At one end of the scale, there is the human conception carried to its logical extreme in the *Jataka Stories*. At the other end are the Pharaoh-like conception of *Prithu* as the eighth from *Vishnu* and its logical corollary, the doctrine of passive obedience, enunciated by *Narada*. Between these two extremes⁶⁶ there are degrees of humanity and divinity, and even deities in Hindu pantheon are subject to duties and limitations and amenable to spiritual, if not temporal sanctions. Therefore the simple generalization of Willoughby that in all of the vast Asiatic monarchies of early days the rulers claimed a divine right to control the affairs of the state and this was submitted to by the people with but little question⁶⁷ should be assessed at its proper value. Let us go on to discuss the cause that brought about the change of kingship from a human to a divine institution.

This deification extends to public relations. The mutual public relations among the king and the four castes under his rule have been a good deal influenced by such and other religious conceptions like the origin of the four castes from the mouth, arms, thighs and feet which assign to each its particular rank⁶⁸. The king identified as he is with the aforesaid eight deities, has, to emulate the actions of seven of them, excepting, *Kubera*, with whom his identification is limited only to the possession of wealth. In addition, he has to emulate

the earth's action. Like Indra, pouring down copious rain during the rainy season, he should shower benefits on his kingdom. Like the sun, imperceptibly drawing up water during the remaining eight months he should gradually draw taxes from his realm. He should through his spies penetrate everywhere, like the wind, present as vital air in all creatures. He should, like Yama (God of the dead), exercise control over all his subjects, bringing under his rule both friends and foes.

Like Varuna, penalizing the sinner, he should punish the wicked. He should follow Moon's example by being a source of joy to his subjects. He should be Fire in his wrath against criminals and wicked vassals, and the all supporter Earth in his support to all his subjects⁶⁹.

NOTES:

1. Figgis, op. cit., p. 4, "A belief so wide spread (as that of Filmer) was surely the product far more of practical necessity than of intellectual activity. No enthusiasm for a scheme of ideal politics, no quasi-scientific delight in discussions upon nature of government could generate so passionate a faith. The pressure of circumstances alone could produce it." Cf. Lenin from "Infantile Sickness of Leftism," 1920, quoted in 'On Organization' 1926 p. 198. "Politics is a science and an art that did not come down from heaven and is not acquired gratis"
2. AyodhyaKanda 67SI 8-13 Cf. Matsya purana Chap. CCXXV. V.9.
3. Mahabharata, Ch. 59.
4. Arajaka is a state of anarchy as is explained in Chaps. LXVI and i XVII of the Santi Parvan.
5. The distinction between state and society should not be sought out at this stage of Indian culture.
6. Manu VI.11. 3. He says in states where government ceases to be, all people live in perpetual dread. In the absence of (coercion or government) the strong would devour the weak, as the spike the fishes. Ibid., VII. 20. The commentator Kullaka Bhatta gives another reading in this context. The same line occurs in Yuktikalpataru (Calcutta Oriental Series) 105. There is also another reading of the line in the Santi Parvan of the Mahabharata with a slight difference. (66. 16). It is also found in Vana Parvan of Mahabharata (Chap. CX. 7-9).
7. Khalimpur Grant, "Of Dharmapala, Epigraphica Indica", vol. IV, p. 248. The name Dharmapala instead of Gopala is wrongly given in some recent publications.
8. The Pandit Series, 1901, p. 122.
9. The two best descriptions of anarchy are found in the 67th and 68th Ch. of the Santi Parvan, Mahabharata.
10. Rockhill, "Life of Buddha", pp. 1-7. The story is also to be found in the Agganna-

Suttanta of the Dighamkaya. Vol. III. sec. 27, p. 93, Pali Text Society Edition.

11. Rockhill, op. cit., p. 4.
12. Ibid., p. 4-6. Cf. Locke "Civil Government" II, 5.
13. Ibid., p. 6.
14. Aitareya Brahmana, I. 14.
15. C. H. Mac Ilwain. "The Political Works of James I", 1918; Introduction, XX.
16. W. Bagehot, "The English Constitution and other Political Essays", p. 288. Hobbes told us long ago and everybody now understands that there must be a supreme authority, a conclusive power in every state on every point somewhere.
17. 27 - 28 Santi Parvan, Mahabharata, Ch. 63
18. Ibid., Santi Parvan, Chap. 65, 27.
19. Ibid., Santi, Ch. 69, sec. 76, 103; Ibid., Santi. Ch. 15; Ibid., Ch. 121, sec. 60.
20. Mahabharata, Santi Parva, Chap. 59.
21. Mahabharata: Santi Parva, Ch. 63, 28, 29, See Bandopadhyaya, op. cit., p. 287 et seq.
22. P Basu, "Indo-Aryan Polity" 1925, p. 54.
23. Ibid., p. 55.
24. Ibid., p. 11.
25. Megasthenes records the Hindu tradition current in his time that monarchy was the earliest form of organized government in India. This is supported by Rigveda where Monarchy is the normal and the only form of government known. McCriwille, Megasthenese and Arrian" p. 200. Jayaswal, op. cit., Part II, p. 3.
26. The science and machinery of government. That is how Dikshitar translates. See V. R. R. Dikshitar, "Hindu Administrative institutions". 1929. p. 1.
27. Mahabharata (Kumbakonam Edition) translated by P.C. Roy and M.N. Dutt, Santi Parva LVIII, 95-153; Niti Prakasa, Ch. i, 26 ff.
28. Samarangana Sutradhara of Bhoja. Vols. i and ii (Gaekwad Sanskrit Series.)
29. Bhoja, op. cit, Ch. vii.
30. Kautilya: "Arthasastra" translated by R. Shama Sastry. Book I, Chap. XIII.
31. RajaDharma (Mahabharata) Chap. LXVII, 8-30.
32. Taittiriya Brahmana (Anandasrama Sanskrit Series No. 32). Krishna Yajurveda i, 7. 7.4. See Dikshitar, op. cit., pp. 17-18.
33. Ghoshal is loath to use the term contract and applies the term compact to this understanding between the ruler and ruled which gave rise to monarchy. Furthermore, he sees in the Agganna Suttanta account the real and the earliest formula- tion of a social contract theory.
34. Mahabharata, Anu, Ch. 28; Mahabharata, santi, Ch. 211, 12.
35. Mahabharata, Adi, Ch. 213.
36. Gautama Samhita, Translation S. B. E. Vol. ii (Anandasrama Sanskrit Series) Chap. X. Gautama whose work is not later than the fifth century B. C. closely follows the Epic tradition which is represented by the 67th Ch. of the Santi Parva.
37. Baudhyayana Dharma Sutra (Mysore Oriental Series) Translation S. B. E. Vol. XIV. Ch. XVI.
38. Vasistha Samhita (Bombay Sanskrit Series) Translation S. B. E. Vol. VII. Ch. I.
39. Bandopadhyaya, op. cit. p. 279-82.
40. pp. 462-464. Ghoshal, Hindu Political Theories, pp. 209-212. "The king is servant of the people and the revenue represents his wages."
41. E. Senart' Edition, Vol. i, pp. 347 - 48.

42. Ghoshal, op. cit., pp. 118 - 119. See also Mahavamsa, Ch. ii, p. 10- 11 (Sacred Books of Ceylon. Vol. I).
43. K. P. Jayaswal "Hindu Polity". Part II. pp. 5-6.
44. Kalidasa, "Raghuvamsa" (Bombay Sanskrit Series) a. 11 & 18.
45. Arthasastra, op. cit., i, 9.
46. McCrindie, "Megasthenes and Arrian" p. 200.
47. X. 60, 173, 174.
48. Eggeling (Sacred Books of the East) XLI, 103 -10.
49. Mahabharata.iii 185. 26-30; 139. 103. continued Cf Ramayana (Gorreslo) ii, 122, 17 ff. add iii. 4. See Hopkins (Journal of American Oriental Society, p. 153).
50. Mahabharata, kit, 68,41.
51. Ibid., iv, 4, 22.
52. Ibid., i. 49. 10.
53. Ibid., i, 49. 8.
54. Ibid., xii, 15. 34. Cf. Manu vii, 18. The Puranas (Histories) for instance Bhagavata Purana (14, 26, 27) identify the king with all divinities. As corollaries to his divinity may be mentioned the "Mudrarakshasa" (ii. 7) which makes him the husband of Rajalakshmi (kingdom personified as a goddess) and Raghuvamsa (iii. 62-5) which makes him the subduer of India.
55. Satapatha-Brahmana, ii, 2. 2. 6. "Verily there are two kinds of Gods; for indeed the Gods are the gods; and the Brahmins who have studied and taught sacred lore, are the human Gods.
See Mahabharata, xiii, 152, 16.
Manu ix, 315 ff.
Agnipurana ccxxv, 16, 18 ff.
Journal of the American Oriental Society, xiii. 153.
56. Manu, i, 98-100; ix. 245.
(Sacred Books of the, East Series, Vol. XXV.)
57. Manu, ix, 317, 318; xi, 83.
58. Ibid., ix. 319.
59. Ibid., xi. 85.
60. Ibid., ix. 315. 316.
61. Ibid., vii, 3, 4; v. 96. See Sukraniti, i. 72.
62. Manu, vii. 5, 6.
63. Ibid., vii. 7.
64. Ibid., vii, 8.
65. Ibid., v. 93. It is interesting to note that in Kural, a Tamil classic of 2nd century A. D., there is no mention of the divine origin of kings or of kingship, translated by G.V.Pope Rev. J. Lazarus and V. V. Iyer.
66. Indra's sovereignty is sometimes due to election by gods, sometimes derived from the will of God. It is a case of authority from below or above. Ghoshal, op. cit., p. 42-41
67. "The Nature of State", pp. 42-3.
68. Rig Veda X, 90,12.
69. Manu, IX, 303-11.

III. EVOLUTION FROM HUMAN TO DIVINE THEORIES

1

The development in the order of thought, how a human origin of kingship tended to move towards a divine one, is the most fascinating chapter in Indian history. This epoch contains all the contradictions of our modern social structure. It accounts for the progressive social bankruptcy of Brahmanism. It accounts for the rise of religion as a prelude to social decay. It accounts for the rise of the caste-system. It accounts for the social struggles between Brahmans and Kshatriyas.

Broadly speaking, the transition from elective to divine monarchy was brought about by the struggle between Brahmans and Kshatriyas. Some say that this struggle is not a historical fact.¹ But all scholars agree that such a struggle was a historical fact.² In the Vedic period the Kshatriya (Ruler: Warrior) held the dominant position. This was quite natural in the state of society when it was fighting its way to the south and the last among a powerful alien population. Next in importance came the Brahmana³. But in the post-Vedic period, this position was reversed. At this stage of Indian culture, we hear of various classes. Caste was not yet in vogue⁴. These classes had definite functions. Each class followed its own nature. It followed its own Svadharma, its own inclination. A warrior followed his occupation. A priest followed his own. The function of the priest was the most lucrative one. Food was plentiful. There was no economic insecurity. Hence all classes lived amicably. Society was fluid and changeable, classes moved to and fro from one occupation to another. These classes were purely guided by material considerations. As time passed, Indian society was beset with many economic crises. The early Vedic and Buddhistic literatures speak

of the increase of populations and famines. There has been migration of people. The classes had to be careful about their occupations. In times of economic insecurity they have to fortify their position. They have to close their ranks to others. Membership was to be limited. Thus the classes were forced to close their ranks. They fortified themselves with myths and taboos. The division of society into classes became factual. This stratification of classes into castes was facilitated by other factors. They are what Bougie calls specialization, repulsion and hierarchy. These ideas played a dominant part in stereotyping the classes into castes. By specialization Brahmins became expert priests, Kshatriyas became expert rulers, and so on. Each occupation acquired a repulsion to the other. A natural corollary is hereditary succession. That is how the caste system arose. The classes, before they came to be castes, were heterogeneous. They consisted of various races and tribes. The chief determining factor is material circumstance. Later this inequality was harmonized by caste system, by organic theories and so on. Religion was invoked to conceal this inequality. The Brahmin was most in demand by those classes that could pay him. He was always in touch with the ruling class. He got to know the weaknesses of that class. He got into the framework of kingly society. He made himself indispensable. He exploited the uneasy position of the ruling class. By subtle means, by cunning, diplomacy, and all that his class could command, he made himself the Purohita - priest - of the king. There was an organized conspiracy on the part of the Brahmins, to share imperium with the ruling class. This ruling class became a willing tool in the hands of Brahmins. They made the king's power more secure, when it suited them, when the rulers were powerful. They gave free reign to their imagination, and invented myths and fables to fortify their position and that of the rulers. They also invented complicated coremonials. These ceremonials require for their proper observance the

ministrations of a highly trained priestly class⁵. By temperament a Brahmin is averse to work. He therefore urged the necessity of frequent and liberal offerings to the Gods⁶. He knew that the offerings were to him and that the gods could not have them. He did not live in monasteries like the Buddhist. He did not draw salary like the Christian. He lived on what was given him. When nothing was given him, he had recourse to flattery and beggary⁷. Thus by gradual means he built up a lucrative priestly profession hobnobbing with kings, pretending holiness, despising the masses and corrupting the society. The struggle for social ascendancy between the priesthood and the ruling military class must in the nature of things have been of long duration. In the chief literary documents of this period which have come down to us we meet with numerous passages in which the ambitious claims of the Brahmins are put forward with singular frankness. So writes the Sanskrit scholar Eggeling.

The Buddhistic literature is equally emphatic. Sonadanda Sutta is a good example⁸. Buddhism is one long research into the pretences of Brahmins. Buddhism fought against too many vested interests at once. It raised up too many enemies. It tried to pour new wine in the old bottles to retain too much of the ancient phraseology for lasting victory - at least at that time, and in an advancing country then assimilating into itself surrounding peoples at a lower grade of culture. The end was inevitable. And it was actually brought about, not by persecution but by the gradual weakening of the theory itself, the gradual creeping back, under new forms and new names, of **the** more popular beliefs. The very event hastened the decline. The adhesion of large numbers of nominal converts produced weakness rather than strength in the movement for reform. The day of compromise had come. Every relaxation of the old thoroughgoing position was widely supported by converts only half converted. And the margin of difference between the

Buddhists and their opponents gradually faded almost entirely away. The soul theory, step by step, gained again the upper hand. The caste system was gradually built up into a completely organized system. The social supremacy of the Brahmins by birth became accepted as an incontrovertible fact. And the inflod of popular superstition which overwhelmed the Buddhist movement, overwhelmed also the whole pantheon of the Vedic gods. Buddhism and Brahmanism alike passed practically away, and modern Hinduism arose on the ruins of both⁹.

The consequences of this are obvious on our theory of kingship. First, there is the ascendancy of the Brahmins. Second, there is the heightened power of kings. In other words, power is divided between the rulers and the priests. Each acted as a check on the other. Each defied their respective positions. Each emphasised forms more than content. Shama Sastri has an interesting theory of the origin of Kshatriyas. The priestly class of the Aryan invaders of India established an institution of Queens, and reserved to themselves the right of begetting on them a ruling king and warrior soldiers to protect and defend the kingdom, the king and the soldiers being compelled to observe a celibate life, and having no ruling powers over the priestly class. Consequent on the desire of the Kshatriyas to set up a hereditary monarchy with the right of marriage for the Kshatriyas also, a civil war ensued between Brahmans and the Kshatriyas¹⁰. It is very difficult to accept this theory. Buddhism and Jainism - both Kshatriya movements-always emphasised elective contract theories of kingship. They always championed democratic forces. Consequently it is difficult to believe that Kshatriyas stood for hereditary rule. Hierarchy was a necessity, as I have shown before, with these classes when their material circumstances were insecure. It is not due to any cupidity of the ruling class. However, this theory illustrates the rivalry between these classes. From the Vedic period onward, a priestly aristocracy independent of the king arose. It

claimed exemption from punishment for offences and from taxes and tolls¹¹ on land and other property. It claimed protection from hunger, sickness, cold and heat¹². The ruling class challenged this supremacy. Consequently, the priestly class compromised, deifying themselves and their relations to other classes.

India passed from tribal democracy to elective monarchy, with priestly domination in some cases. It again passed to government by clans or to oligarchy in others. Elective monarchy gave place to hereditary monarchy with or without priestly supremacy. Under the influence of Jainism and Buddhism, hereditary monarchy freed itself from Brahmin hierarchy and took rest for some time in Ganas or Gentes of the Jains and Buddhists. Then came a reaction. A Brahmanic revival became a necessity. The motive was to put down Jainism and Buddhism and to restore Brahmanism to its former glory. The reason is obvious. It is the social condition. The economic foundations of Brahmin oligarchy are shaken. Instead of clothing and feeding the Brahmins as a whole in all places at the expense of public revenue in satisfaction of their old claim to exemption from cold, heat thirst and hunger, special feeding houses like the Buddhist alms-houses seem to have been established in a number of sacred places by way of manifesting devotion to faith in religion and charity. The politicians got alarmed. They wanted a government that would recognize their claims. Here again the nature of the government depended on the conditions and the specific weight of the progressive or unprogressive social force. The theorist of this school is Kautilya. The politicians of the Kautilya period seem to have entertained no doubts as to the particular form of government that would answer their purpose of helping the cause of the Brahmans. Neither democracy with power vested in the hands of even the low-caste persons, nor oligarchy under the sway of apostates and atheists would be of any help to Bhrahmanism. The wayward hereditary monarchies

of the Kshatriyas hated the Brahmins, renounced the Vedas and embraced Jainism or Buddhism at their pleasure. Hence the Kshatriyas who were found wanting in their attachment to Brahmanism had to be replaced by others in the monarchical system of government. In times of grave disorder, when the old order has to be preserved under any cost, Kautilya does not hesitate to prefer chiefs of Sudra (fourth caste) origin like Chandragupta to heretical Kshatriyas¹³. Different as are the accounts given in the Puranas and other literary works regarding the descent of Chandragupta, they all agree in making him a Sudra. Kautilya is made to call him a Vrishala in the Mudrarakshasa. According to the Vishnu and other Puranas the Kshatriya race came to an end with Mahapadma, the last Kshatriya king, and after him the "kings of the earth" were of Sudra origin¹⁴. But there is evidence to prove that though in the terrible conflict that ensued between the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas, the ruling race had dwindled to a great extent, there still existed a few Kshatriya kings such as Pushyamitra, Samudragupta, Kumaragupta and others who were all regarded to be of the Kshatriya descent entitled to perform the horse sacrifice¹⁵. Still it cannot however be denied that smarting with the pain of ill-treatment by the hostile kings of the Kshatriya race, the Brahmins sought the help of the wild chiefs of Sudra descent against the effiminable Buddhist kings and that the chiefs of the forest tribes availed themselves of the good opportunity to establish themselves as kings in many of the Aryan kingdoms. This is confirmed by Matsya Purana. As a substratum of the revival of Brahmanism, there appeared at the same time a real revival of non-Aryan (non-Kshatriyan) rule in the whole of India. The Brahmins seem to have considered themselves quite justified in the revolutionary step they had taken to replace the hostile Kshatriya rule by non-Aryan rule. Bhishma tells Yudhistira that all Brahmins should revolt against Kshatriyas if they ill-treat them, and invite a Sudra to protect them¹⁶.

The Brahmins did not stop at this. These uniform yet brave upstarts (non-Aryan rulers), mere flags in the hands of their ministers - as termed by Kautilya¹⁷ - seem to have been looked upon as being too low-born to fill up the high place they were called upon to occupy. To make up for this want the later politicians of India seem to have invented and developed the idea of divine birth and right of kings as sine quo non to royal power. Accordingly the king is declared an incarnation of deities by Manu¹⁸ - and other later Smriti writers.

This picture of a king being a deity in human form should be contrasted with the picture of a king, portrayed as a mere mortal in the Vedas and Artha Sastra. I can conceive no other reason for this sudden change of ideas about the right of kings than the necessity of hiding the low-birth of restored non-Aryan kings of the Buddhistic period and of strengthening their royal power so as to be able to guard the interest of the Brahmins. This is purely a Brahmanic conception consistent with their theistic religion. Neither Jainism nor Buddhism could possibly entertain such theistic notions, consistent with their agnostic faith, or the kingdom of righteousness based upon the equality of individual rights, be he a prince or pauper. In the Brahmanic conception of political justice or injustice the king was held answerable to God Varuna for all his unjust acts and was accordingly compelled to pay a fine to Varuna and distribute it among Brahmins in expiation of his wrong deeds¹⁹. The Buddhists seems to have held the king directly responsible to the people for all his acts and taken the law in their own hands in dealing with an erring king. Accordingly we are told in the Jatakas²⁰ of kings put to death for outraging a woman²¹, for ingratitude²², for endangering life²³, for attempting to make a sacrifice of a prince²⁴, for developing cannibalistic tastes²⁵, for not taking steps to avert a drought²⁶, and for causing famines by his unrighteous acts²⁷. This kind of treatment of kings on naturalistic basis or on a footing of equality with ordinary people would by no means be in harmony

with class or individual superiority and special births and prerogatives. Hence, in the interests of their own privileges and consistently with their theistic conception the Brahmins seem to have divinized royalty irrespective of its birth and race. There is no doubt this innovation rendered monarchy still more despotic and freed it from all popular check it had till then. Still the same religion which elevated the monarch and enabled him to enjoy his privileges, besides conferring them on castes and creeds in his own interests seems to have been used also to prevent him from all acts unrighteous in the view of Brahmins. In addition to the theistic threats and dangers which were used to keep him at bay, there were also political threats and dangers due to court intrigue which kept him in constant apprehension of danger to his position and life. Thus the chief feature of the Brahmanic revival is the establishment of theocratic despotism tempered by theistic checks and Brahmanic power at the background.

The development in the order of thought from a human origin of kingship towards a divine can be briefly summarised. First there is the human origin. Kingship may be caused by external pressure like war as portrayed in Aitareya Brahmana, or it may be caused by internal necessity to avert anarchy. These may take the form of contract or election as portrayed in Dighanikaya. The next step consists in the human origin of kingship, linked with invocation to duties. Election is supplemented by Prayer. Religion at this stage is becoming a necessity. It is acquiring a sociological import. This is foreshadowed in Satapatha Brahmana²⁸. The next step lies in the equation of religious and political functions. We find glimpses of this equation in Mahabharata and Sukraniti. The next step lies in the assumption of temporary divinity during sacrifice. Religio-Socio-political ceremonies creep in as seen in Vajapeya and Raja Suya ceremonies. The hand of Brahmanism is seen here. The next step lies in the union of human form with particles of several deities. Manu and Sukraniti speak of this change.

IV. LIMITATIONS ON THE POWERS OF THE KING

1

Though the Brahman, and thereby the royal priest, as also the king, are divinities endowed with supernatural power, they have, like the Gods in general of the Hindu pantheon, their own limitations. They are to observe the duties attached to their respective castes with the four stages of life, belonging as they do in their human aspect to the Hindu Society with a framework of its own. They have, in addition, to observe the particular duties of the offices they hold. They are subject to transmigrations bound like ordinary mortals, to go to heaven or hell, and have despicable and agonizing births or otherwise as the results of their illegal and impious actions on this earth. The king and the royal priest constitute but the middling rank of the states caused by Rajas (activity) inspite of their divinity.¹ The king, according to the Sukraniti, loses his claim to allegiance and reverence and may even be dethroned, should he prove an enemy of virtue and morality.²

The king's divinity does not place him above the observance of obligations attached to his office. In fact, his divinity requires that he should in reality possess a godly nature. It was hedged in by several warnings and sanctions³. The King committed sins and no mere infringements of salutary secular rules on conventions by breaches of his principal obligations. Danda (Political Science), which the Lord created as his son for the king's sake for the protection of creatures⁴, destroys the king himself with his relatives for miscarriage of duties⁵. The king is enjoined to behave like a father towards his children in his treatment of the people, observe the sacred law in his transactions with them, and arrange for the collection of revenue by competent officials⁶. The protection of subjects is as sacred a duty as the performance of a sacrifice⁷ and secures the monarch from every person

12. Sastri, op. cit., p. 98, (Apastamba, II, 10, 25.)
13. Artha Sastra, V. 6.
14. Vishnu Parana, IV, 24.
15. Vincent Smith, " History of India "; p. 273, 284, 287. According to orthodox theory, a Kshatriya alone could be a ruler.
16. Santi Raja Dharma Parva, Ch. 78; Raja Dharraa Parva, Ch.123.
17. Artha Sastra, V. 6.
18. Manu V,96-7. He states here the divine birth and eight of kings explicitly. Manu, VII, 4-8.
19. Artha Sastra, IV, 13.
20. See Subba Rao, "Jatakasand Indian Polity ".
21. Jatakas, Ed. by Cowell, Vol. II, 122-3.
22. Ibid., Ed. by Cowell, Vol. I, 326.
23. Ibid., Ed. by Cowell. Vol. III, 574.
24. Ibid., Ed. by Cowell, Vol. VI, 155.
25. Ibid., Ed. by Cowell, Vol. V, 470.
26. As narrated in Visantara Jataka, 487-88.
27. Jatakas, Ed., by Cowell, Vol II, 124; 368.
28. Jayaswal, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 23.
29. Sir H. Maine, " Early History of Institutions" Lect. 13. " Ancient Law " (ed. Pollock, 1206). pp. 27-8.
30. T. H. Green, " Lectures on the Principles of political obligation."
31. Lieutenant Colonel Marks Wilks, " Historical Sketches of the South of India in an attempt to trace the History of Mysore", 1810, p. 14.
32. From the Review of M. Wilks (1810) and J. C. Marshman's Works on India (1867). Historical Tract, British Museum, 1870.
33. " Political Theories of the Ancient World ", p. 16.
34. Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 1, p. 216.
35. Cambridge Ancient History, S. A. Cook, Vol. I, pp. 211-12; 216.
36. T. W. Rhys Davids, "Buddhist India", 1903, p. 257 also p. 239.
37. Felix Frankfurter, " The Public and its Government".
38. A. J. Carlyle, " Christian Church and Liberty" p. 156.
39. Bishop Stubbs, "Constitutional History", Vol. I. " Absolutism is not incompatible with limitations."
40. E. B. Havell, " History of Indo-Aryan Civilization ".
41. Cambridge Ancient History.
42. Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. I, p. 213.
43. A.J. Carlyle, "The Influence of Christianity upon Social and Political Ideas", 1911.
44. Cambridge Ancient History.
45. Willoughby, op. cit., p. 19.
 ".....the Egyptian kings had in fact.....their freedom of action very considerably limited by religious checks. The Priests constituted a very powerful political force in the State."
 R. Shama Sastry, "Evolution of Indian Polity ", pp. 166-171 (Appendix B). J. W. Burgess, " Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law ", 1890-1. Vol. 1,1 p. 60.

Oriental despotism is one of those historical fallacies upon which the British administrators of India are nurtured⁴⁰. It is true that there are isolated cases of despotism. Even among the mighty Mesopotamian monarchs, government was limited. They had no exclusive powers. Permanent authority was resented by the masses. Their word "king" means "to advise"⁴¹. They were the representatives between God and Man. They were the interpreters of God's will and benevolent rulers. The Babylonian kings have a warning that "if the king does not heed the law, his people will be destroyed. His power will pass away."⁴² The chiefs and elders of the tribe are men noble, wise and brave, but with slight authority. It must be remembered that our knowledge of the Hebrew conceptions of Government is very vague⁴³. Conclusions we draw from records at our disposal may be upset, corrected, amplified or transformed by a new discovery tomorrow⁴⁴. When such is the state of our knowledge, how rash it is to indulge in generalizations and lump all forms of the Government of the East under the heading 'Oriental Despotism'. Custom and religion are the great controlling forces in the East⁴⁵. Let us now trace these controlling ideas in Hindu theory.

NOTES:

1. Dikshitar, op. cit., p. 121. "The so called struggle between the two classes the Brahmans and Kshatriyas is more a product of the imagination than one of actual fact."
2. R. S. Sastri, "Evolution of Indian Polity", 1920, p. 39. "We hear of a terrible internecine civil war between the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas, as illustrated by the conflict between Visvamitra and Vasistha and Parasurama and Kartaveeryas".
3. Basu, op. cit., p. 35.
4. T. W. Rhys Davids, "Dialogues of Buddha", S. B. B. Vol. II, 1899, p. 101 (See pp. 96 - 107). Ambattha Sutta, pp. 108-136.
5. S. B. E., Vol. XII, Introduction, pp. 9-10.
6. Rig Veda, VIII, 2. 13.
7. E. W. Hopkins, "Ethics of India", pp. 148-49. See also J. A. O. S., Vol. xiii, p. 72,
8. T. W. Rhys Davids, "Dialogues of Buddha", (S. B. B. Vol. II). 1899, p. 144-159.
9. T. W. Rhys Davids, op. cit., p. 142.
10. Sastri, op. cit, 73-74. (For the whole account see pp. 40-74).
11. Apastamba 1,2,10; 11, 10, 26.

The next step lies in making the king a descendant of God. He is called Prithu the eighth from Vishnu. Vishnu enters the body of the king. Santi Parva speaks of this change. Lastly, kingship is divine, but not the person of the king. Brahmanism triumphed. Manu, Narada all hailed its advent.

2

For a long time, amongst Western writers, on Hindu theories of kingship, there prevailed the Filmerian idea that Hindu kings were arbitrary. They, like Filmer, failed to understand the difference between absolute and arbitrary powers. It was left to Bodin to make that distinction scientific and modern. Maine²⁹ and Green³⁰ characterised the Hindu institutions as mere tax-gathering ones. Wilks³¹ notes that immemorial despotism of the East was a fact familiar to every reader. A reviewer of Wilks and Marshman³² echoed the same ideas. The American Willoughby too thinks³³ that the very conception of liberty was beyond the oriental's ken. Not even in his poetry or song did he desire for freedom. I wonder how much of oriental poetry did Willoughby read. Still another styles eastern sovereignty as despotism tempered by assassination³⁴. Many such examples could be multiplied. Since these people wrote, oriental scholarship has been much revolutionized by discovery of lost texts. The unchangeable East has become a truism³⁵. Davids complains that we are not likely to cease from hearing that parrot cry of self-complacent ignorance - "the immobile East³⁶." The unchanging East is changing, and as Felix Frankfurter observes, the most novel constitutions now come from the East³⁷. Apart from this background, Carlyle observes to this effect: "The risk of revolution, the possibility of armed revolt is always present, and it may be doubted whether in the larger sense of the word a really absolute monarchy ever existed, or ever could exist³⁸." Bishop Stubbs³⁹ echoed the same ideas. Leaving this "a priorism" aside, let us see how far oriental monarchy is despotic in history and theory.

under his protection a sixth part of the demerit of each of his subjects, ruining his spiritual prospects, and depriving him of his right to revenue, tolls, duties, daily presents and fines.⁸ Failures of justice throw him into perdition⁹ as also unjust seizure of property.¹⁰

In addition to these general limitations, the Brahmins acted as checks upon the king's exercise of powers. The king is enjoined to be lenient towards Brahmins¹¹, give them jewels of all sorts and presents for the sake of sacrifices¹², never to provoke them to anger which can instantly destroy him with his army and vehicles¹³, and not to levy taxes on Srotriyas (Brahmin Priests) even in times of extreme want¹⁴. The king should provide for the maintenance of those Srotriyas that pine with hunger, for the kingdom would otherwise be afflicted by famine. The religious merit acquired by the Srotriyas, thus maintained, procures for the king long life, wealth and increase of territory¹⁵. The king should follow him as a student his teacher, a son his father and a servant his master¹⁶. The same sentiments are given expression to in the verse of Yajnavalkya¹⁷.

Apart from Brahmins as a body, the institution of Purohita is alleged to be a powerful limitation upon the powers of the king. Among the eighteen departments of the administrative machinery of the ancient Hindus, the institution of Purohita or king's adviser in matters religious and secular as well¹⁸ was a prominent and influential one. The origin of this institution is obscure. From the comparatively modest position of private chaplain who had to attend to the sacrificial obligations of his master, the Purohita appears to have gradually raised himself to the dignity of, so to say, a minister of public worship and confidential adviser to the king¹⁹. The struggle for social ascendancy between the priesthood and the ruling military class must, in the nature of things, have been of long duration. In the chief literary documents of this period which have come down to us, namely the Yajurveda, the Brahmins

and the hymns of the Atharvaveda, some of which perhaps go back to the time of the later hymns of the Rik, we meet with numerous passages in which the ambitious claims of the Brahmans are put forward with singular frankness. The powerful personal influence exercised by the Purohita, seems to have largely contributed to the final success of the sacerdotal order²⁰. The question as to how Brahmins ultimately succeeded in overcoming the resistance of the ruling class receives but little light from the contemporaneous records. Later legendary accounts of sanguinary struggles between the two classes and the final overthrow and even annihilation of the Kshatriyas can hardly deserve much credence. Perseverance and tenacity of purpose were probably the chief means by which the Brahmans gained their ends. The commentator of the Kamandaka Niti Sara, Sankaraya, characterises the Purohita as one of the more prominent ministers²¹. This is also testified by Tamil evidence²². In Aitareya Brahmana, he is represented as providence guiding the destinies of the kingdom. He is the directing force in the administration of Kamandaka²³. The Sukraniti adds that he is also the preception²⁴. He makes effort to avert several calamities. They are fire or thunder, rain or overrains, epidemic, famine, pestilence to crops, relinquishment of men, prevalence of diseases, demons, bear or tiger, rats and snakes²⁵. Over and over again the importance of the Purohita is emphasised. It is only a kingdom under the guiding hand of a Brahman that will last long²⁶. On him hangs the thread of the realm. It is said that Ikshvaku kings attained celebrity and greatness owing to Vasistha, their Purohita²⁷. A king without Purohita is like an elephant without the mahout (rider). A king with the Purohita is compared to the fire united with wind²⁸. A king would be a mere nothing if he had no Purohita to guide him. He would ever be in danger of the Rakshasas, the Asuras, the Pisashas, Uragas, Pakshins and other enemies.

There are other politico-religious ceremonies which limit the king to constitutional exercise of powers. One

is Raja Suya. it is not a single ceremonial but a series of rituals several of which had independent existence. The completion of the whole ceremony was spread over about two years and three months²⁹. One of the rites crystallizes the idea that the king can do no wrong. The Adhvaryu (High priest) and his assistants strike the king on the back with sticks (punishment) thereby putting him beyond the reach of judicial punishment³⁰.

Another is the coronation oath. The vow which the king-elect took or, to use modern phraseology, the coronation oath as given in the Aitareya Brahmana is in these terms:

“ Let the Kshatriya be sworn through this great coronation of the Indra ritual. He is to repeat with faith, ‘ Between the night I am born and the night I die, whatever good I might have done, my heaven, my life and my progeny may I be deprived of, if I oppress you ³¹’.

The business-like and contractual nature of the oath is note-worthy. There is no reference to any divine agency in the oath. It is purely human. It is humanly solemn. According to the Aitareya Brahmana the oath was common to all constitutions. It was administered to the ruler whatever the form of polity, whether he was desirous of being consecrated to Samrajya, Bhaujya, Svarajya, Vairajya, Paramestrthya, Rajya Maharajya, Adhipatya, or Sarvabhauma³². In the Mahabharata, it is given in terms which correspond to the oath given in Aitareya Mahabharata, a Sruti which denotes that the oath was based on Vedic text. As the Aitareya enjoins that the oath should be repeated “ with faith “, so here it had to be pronounced without any mental reservation :

“I take the oath without any mental reservation in fact and by word of mouth;

“ I will see to the growth of the country, regarding it as God himself.

" Whatever law there is here and whatever is dictated by Ethics and whatever is not opposed to politics I will act according to, unhesitatingly. And I will never be arbitrary³³."

To the royal oath the people pronounced 'Amen '. An analysis of coronation ceremonies discloses the following position of the Hindu kings:

1. Hindu kingship was a human institution according to early sources.

2. It was elective, the electorate being the whole people. It later became hereditary³⁴ and still later it became a divine institution retaining the hereditary principle.

3. It was a contractual engagement. In the Buddhistic literature we find the same notion.

4. It was an office of state which had to work "in co-operation with other offices of state³⁵."

5. It was a trust, the trust being the tending of the country to prosperity and growth.

6. It was not arbitrary.

7. It was not above the law but under it. It was further bound by the rules of political science (Danda)³⁶.

If a Hindu monarch failed to keep his coronation oath, he would be false in his vow and would forfeit his title to remain on the throne. Kings at times said with pride that they were true to their oaths³⁷. The Hinduised Rudraman was anxious to declare in his inscription that he kept his vow, that he never levied taxes which were not lawful³⁸. - If the monarch failed to maintain the integrity of the state he was considered guilty of breaking his vow. Brihadratha Maurya who was weak as ruler, and during whose reign the Greeks made a second attempt at conquering India, was removed from the throne and was called weak in keeping his vow. The king having

taken the oath to act according to the law as established, if he acted unlawfully and committed a crime he would be considered to have broken faith and his action would be illegal, for which the people who had installed him would remove him. The Jatakas³⁹, traditions, literature and history furnish illustrations. In the Mahabharata the plea for the deposition and the execution of the tyrant Vena was that he was unlawful. The formal deposition of Naga Dasaka of Magadha and his punishment was due to parricide. King Palaka of the Mrichchhakatika was deposed because he had incarcerated Aryaka without the latter having committed any crime.

The next limitation on the power of the king is Danda. It has been translated variously. Broadly speaking, it can be defined as "an ideal political science". Manu says: "It is the real king." It is the ruling authority. It is the surety for the population⁴⁰. The king who properly employs it, prospers, but if he be selfish, abnormal and deceitful, Danda destroys him⁴¹. Danda is of great lustre. It cannot be held by despots. It strikes down the king who swerves from law, together with his relatives. Thus the king is brought under law. He is reduced to his human and contractual status. "Only a king who is honest and true to his coronation oath and follows the sastras (customs) and rules with colleagues (ministers), could wield Danda, not one who is despotic, greedy, stupid, and who rules personally⁴²." So says Manu. A king was not only expected to be true to his undertaking, his contract, but it was further enjoined on him that he should work with colleagues and should not rule personally.

Another important limitation on kingship is the concept of Dharma. It has been a word to conjure with. It has been taught in all possible and imaginable ways-by express teaching, by commands, by stories by literature and art, in temples, on the stage and by the living examples of saints and sages. It implies stricture and function. It has reference to a type.

It is based on discipline. It is the meeting point of the individual and of society, of religion and of philosophy, of here and hereafter, of man and God. It is the cement of society, the bond of love, the means of attainment of God⁴³. The king was regarded as the protector of Dharma⁴⁴. Dharma in the Satapatha Brahmana was equated with truth. Moreover, the place of Dharma in human existence was defined, and the same passage of the said Brahmana explained Dharma as those "principles of justice whereby the weak maintain themselves against the strong with the help of the king⁴⁵." With the Brahmana authors, this Dharma was something which may be taken to embody the primary principles of justice and equity, though it is nowhere discussed and explained till we come to a later age. Attempts at the definition of Dharma come only with the founders of philosophical schools. The above passage contains the germs which were later on elaborated into definite social and ethical ideas. It postulated that certain rights belonged to all. The application of the principles of Dharma by the king safeguards the rights of the weak against aggressions of the more powerful. The Dharma Sutras (Law texts) gave us neither definition nor abstract ideas of Dharma. They postulated the existence of certain duties and obligations inherent in men of all castes and occupations. They seem to hint at the existence of certain legal relations between the king and his subjects. But while the Dharma Sutras are silent, there is evidence to prove that the root ideas came to be elaborated in the hands of a set of subsequent thinkers whose views are found regarded in traditions which we find in the Epic or in the Buddhist Canon. They evidently analysed the older Dharma concept and tried to come to a logical sequel as to the consequences of the absence of Dharma and the enforcement of its principles by the king. There was divergence of opinion. Some made Dharma primordial and self-existing, identical with creation and truth. Others made it intimately connected with the origin of social

order and the royal office⁴⁶. Whatever the origin of Dharma, it exercised a great influence on kingship. The Jaiminiya Sutras define Dharma as something which is commanded⁴⁷. In Nyaya, in Vaiseshika, in Jaina Metaphysics, as elsewhere, Dharma denotes the property of a thing. There was a harmony, an order, divine and eternal, which pervaded the universal law and every part of it, which naturally covered the world of man and embraced rulers and the ruled alike. It represented principles applicable to all, principles which were of a universal nature. These must be respected by the mightiest of potentates. The supremacy of law is an axiom in all Hindu political speculation. Law is the king of all things. In ancient India Dharma included both law and custom. Apart from conformity to Dharma, the Mahabharata wants the rule of law. The Smritis follow suit. All administration, central and local, must be conducted according to well-defined principles and regulation. Caprice is the undoing of monarchs and officers.

The Next theory insists on a government by consultation. Instruments of consultation occupy a notable place in Hindu administrative theory⁴⁸. The council is an important limb of the central organization and its origin can be traced to very early times. There is evidence to demonstrate that the king in ancient India was no autocrat exercising authority in an irresponsible manner. The law-givers such as Manu, Yajñawalkya and Katyayana assign a fitting place to this assembly which the king was bound to consult before he could enter upon any undertaking or give his verdict on a suit⁴⁹. Even in matters of urgent public importance the king could not act on his own initiative. He must summon all his councillors and decide on the expert advice of his best men⁵⁰. Manu lays down that ministers must be consulted individually and then jointly⁵¹.

We also learn from Ceylon inscriptions⁵² that all administrative measures were issued by the king-in-

council. In the Vevala Katiya inscription of Mahinda IV all these lords who sit in the royal council and who have come together in accordance with the mandate issued by the king-in-council have promulgated these institutions. The slab inscriptions of queen Lilavati shows the creation of a council of ministers, wise and loyal, who released the kingdom from all dangers⁵³. Thus whether it was in South or North India there was no administration which had not a consultative assembly or council which invariably guided the deliberations of the State.

The origin of the word 'Raja' itself connotes the limitations involved in the exercise of the king's powers. The word Rajan and its original Rat literally means a ruler. It is connected with the Latin rex. But Hindu political theorists have given it a philosophic deviation. The King is called Raja because his duty is to "please" (ranj) the people by maintaining good government. This philosophic interpretation has been accepted as an axiom throughout Sanskrit literature. The king also acquiesced in and accepted this constitutional interpretation of the term. Emperor Kharavela of Kalinga, who was a Jaina, says in his inscription (C 165 BC) that he did please his subjects, 35 hundred thousand in number, In the Buddhist Cannon the same theoretic definition is found: demmena para ranjititi kho vasettha, raja⁵⁴. Both orthodox and heterodox branches of the race had adopted it. It was a national interpretation and a national theory of constitution.

2

We next come to the theories of deposition and tyrannicide. The deposing power is a necessary part of the election, contract theories. And since the particular sovereign's authority came not from God, but only through the medium of the people's choice and consent, the ordinary means of securing deposition of a prince was to absolve his subject from their allegiance to him. But the Hindu Brahman theorists,

like the Jesuits, well knew that a law without a sanction is an imperfect law, and they were not content to leave the king's decree a mere *brutum fulmen*. Three modes of enforcement were open: *regnum trans firre ab uno ad alium* and to summon the new ruler to take possession in the name of the Dharma—invasion; second armed rebellion of the prince's own subjects to carry out the decree—resistance or revolution; and third, the assassination of the monarch by one or more private persons—tyrannicide. All the three⁵⁵ modes were actually conceived during this period of Ancient India.

The idea of deposition and tyrannicide is not wholly repugnant to the Hindus. Kings were often expelled during the Vedic period. We know that 'Dustarita Paumsayana had been expelled from the kingdom which had come down to him through ten generations and the Sringayas also expelled. Revottaras Patava Kakra Sthapati⁵⁶.' Kautilya lays down as a matter of common knowledge, that a king of unrighteous character and of vicious habits will, though he is an emperor, fall a prey either to the fury of his own subjects or that of his enemies⁵⁷. In another place⁵⁸ he tells us that impoverished, greedy and disaffected subjects voluntarily destroy their own master. At another place he makes a spy to say "this king is unrighteous, well let us set up in his place another king who is righteous⁵⁹. Again, he is made to say at another place, "the king has betaken himself to an unwise course, well, having murdered him; let us put another in his stead." In an indirect way these passages furnish a distinction between a good king and a tyrant⁶⁰. A king in Kautilya's view must not be so haughty as to despise all people, or in other words, must not be tyrannical; for if tyrannical, they are likely to perish like Dambhodbhaba and Ayura of Hartraya dynasty⁶¹. The Mahabharata makes a sharp distinction between a righteous king and a tyrant. The great sage Vamadarva is quoted by Bhishma to have said that the king who acts according to the counsels of a vicious and sinful minister, becomes a destroyer

of righteousness and deserves to be slain by his subjects with all his family⁶².

A king who is illiberal and without affection, who afflicts his subjects by undue chastisement and who is rash in his acts soon meets with destruction⁶³.' In the Anusasana Parva, the subjects are advised to arm themselves for slaying the tyrant, the king who tells his people that he is their protector but who does not or is unable to protect them, should be slain by his combined subjects. Only a righteous king can claim the title of nara-devata (ruler of men)⁶⁴. In the Aswamedha Parva we read of one Khaniketra deposed by his subjects⁶⁵. King Vena, a slave of wrath and malice, became unrighteous in his conduct towards all his subjects. The sages slew him with Kusha blades⁶⁶. After Vena has been killed the sages pierced his right arm, whence sprang a person who was anointed as king, after having taken an oath that he would never act with caprice and would fearlessly maintain the duties laid in the Vedas. According to Aindramahaviseka ceremony when a promise was extorted from the king that he would lose everything, even his life if he attempted violation of his right and truth⁶⁷. In the Agnipurana, it is laid down that a tyrant is deposed and killed, sooner or later⁶⁸.

There are many instances of deposition and tyrannicide even in Buddhist literature. In the Saccamkira Jataka⁶⁹ we find the wicked king of Benares, who owed his life to Bodhisatta, asking his followers to catch hold of Bodhisatta and execute him. Bodhisatta recited how he saved the king, while he was the crown prince. "Filled with indignation at his recital, the nobles and Brahmans and all classes with one accord cried out: ' This ungrateful king does not recognize even the goodness of this good man, who saved his Majesty's life. How can we have any profit from this king? Seize the tyrant.' And in their anger they rushed upon the king from every side and slew him then and there."

Again in the Padakusalamanava Jataka, a king who had himself stolen some measure; employed a young man to specify the thief. Before a great audience the young man said that their refuge proved their bane, whereupon the people thought "that he may not in future go on playing the part of a thief, we will kill this wicked king." So they rose up with sticks and clubs in their hands, and then and there beat the king and priest till they died⁷⁰. In Mahasutasoma Jataka, the citizens asked the commander to have the king expelled from his kingdom if he would not give up his cannibalistic propensities. The commander thereupon requested the king to give it up, who however expressed his inability to comply with this request; whereupon the commander said, "Then depart, sire, from this city and kindom⁷¹."

The distinction between a good king and a tyrant has been maintained by Sukra⁷². He cannot bear with a king who does not listen to the counsels of his ministers⁷³. To him an autocraticking is nothing but a thief in the form of a ruler. Yajñawalkya warns the king against illegal taxation by saying that fire, arising from the head of the suffering of the subjects, does not cease, without fully burning the family, fortune and life of the king⁷⁴. In Mahāvamsa Vijaya is described as a Prince Regent whose maladministration led to discontent and ultimately to his own punishment⁷⁵. Again Queen Lilavati of Ceylon was deposed by her ministers⁷⁶.

3

Quite in contrast to these theories there is the theory of Narada who says that whatever a king does is right. Manu does not go so far. As I have noted already, he is self-contradictory.

The Brahmans have no systematic theory. That is why all through the ages, they have been mendacious opportunists. The circumstances and their political and social ambitions necessitated such a course.

In order to absorb all diverse social elements into one Hindu fold, they had to concede now and then and at the same time retaining their power. That is how toleration was born. It was a necessity. It was not because the Brahmans believed in it ideologically. Outward conformity to Brahmanic forms, and inward individual beliefs became the price that a Hindu has to pay for his membership of that fold. It led to dualism in Hindu character. It led to the divergence of belief from conduct, It led to the accumulation of social contradictions that have extended on a wider scale even to our day. That is why we seek in vain for any systematic theory in Brahmin writers. As a happy contrast, Buddhists are consistent, and straightforward. They exposed the Brahmans, whom Buddha characterised as "droners, idlers, tricksters " and parasites of society.

The other extreme view is that of Aryadeva. According to him, a king is nothing more than a mere servant. Between these extremes, Sukra guides his course. He nowhere sanctions tyrannicide. Every king is not a mere ruler of men. He is not a mere mortal. A virtuous king is godlike⁷⁷. An unrighteous king is demonlike. He makes the king a creature of Brahma, Yet he qualifies it by saying that he is a servant of the people⁷⁸. He sanctions deposition, a necessary corollary of the king being a servant of the people. He nowhere sanctions tyrannicide because a king is not a mere mortal.

This theory is important for various reasons. Both Narada and Manu wrote during the period of Brahman ascendancy about the seventh century A. D. Consequently their theories suffer from that fact. The Brahmans have deified every human relationship. In spite of it, writers like Sukra recognize the necessity of deposition. This brings out one contrast with the divine theories of kings or kingship held in the West. No Hindu king ever asserted his personal rule as descended from heaven. Law was divinely ordained.

He was made by God to rule. Gods also in the Vedic pantheon are limited by duties. They never proclaimed a theory similar to that of James. They never asserted that they were God's representatives on earth. They never said that they were responsible to God alone if we can exclude Narada, and contradict Manu. They never claimed suspending or dispensing powers. They never exercised the sole authority of personal judges. They could not dispose of the property of the subjects just as they pleased in the name of divine right. They did it with the consent of ministers.

James declared in his Defence of the Right of Kings that kings are "the breathing images of God upon earth"⁷⁹. They "are not only God's lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon God's throne, but even by God himself they are called Gods"⁸⁰. No Hindu king ever claimed such a descent. According to James the king's right to the crown is heritable. It was more. It was a right inalienable and indefeasible⁸¹. His right to the realm is nothing less than an absolute ownership and neither the people nor any one else can have any rights in what is solely his; neither can the people by laws of their own making interfere with the owner's enjoyment of what is his alone⁸². Such a theory as this leaves no place for the law of the land or the authority of the estates of the realm when they conflict with the king's will⁸³. The king himself is above the law, as both the author and giver of strength thereto. He is in no way bound to obey it but of his good will and for good example-giving to his subjects. The coronation oath is taken to God alone⁸⁴. This is the absolutist doctrine of James. As we have seen before no Hindu theorist has propounded such an absolutist doctrine. The peculiarity of Hindu theories is an admixture of radical and conservative ideas. It blended them into a harmony. The theorists of the divine right of kings or kingship also recognized the hereditary character of succession. But it is alienable. The coronation sets, as it were, the popular election character of

kingship although divinely ordained. The people can depose a king. They express it in the coronation ceremony. Whether a king is popularly elected or divinely ordained, he has to undergo a coronation ceremony. This is the means of popular control. Succession is alienable. It is deposable in Hindu theory. Again in the case of Hindu theory, the king must always observe the law of the land. Dharma overrides him. He is under the law. He is not above the law. Consequently, there is no necessity in Hindu theory for the distinction between the divine right of kings and kingship. The reasons why kings or kingship are deified are different in India from those in the West. All the checks to tyranny, deposition, even tyrannicide in some cases, in Hindu theory apply to kings who claim their power from God. In Hindu theory it is the law that is deified. It is the law that is supreme. It is Raja Dharma, Danda Niti (political science) that are deified and not the kings. Later these ideas degenerated into absolutist ideas because of the decay of Brahmanism. The progressive decay of democratic ideas to absolutist ones may be traced to Brahmanism itself. In spite of this, the Hindu theory never demanded passive obedience. Like in the West, the theory of divine right played a necessary part in the history of Hindu political thought⁸⁵.

It will not be out of place if we summarise some of the main theories regarding deposition and tyrannicide in western political thought. When however we have allowed for certain qualifications it remains true that John of Salisbury maintains very emphatically that the tyrant has no rights against the people, and may justly and rightly be slain. It is not only lawful to kill the tyrant, but equitable and just, for it is right that he who takes the sword should perish by the sword⁸⁶. It is clear from history that it is just to slay public tyrants and to set free the people for the service of God. The priests of the Lord reckon their slaughter to be an act of piety⁸⁷. According to Mariana, by the assassination

of Henry III, sovereigns can learn by this memorable teaching that impious projects do not remain without vengeance. Clement has made for himself a great name by assassinating Henry III. He has avenged murder for murder, and washed the blood of the Duke of Guise in the blood of the king. Suarez is of opinion that if the state is attacked by a tyrant, then murder, private murder is legitimate when it offers the sole means of deliverance⁸⁸. In Hindu theories, the right of deposition and tyrannicide apply equally well to those whose titles are defective as well as to those who abuse power.

The check to tyranny may be broadly classified under two heads, preventive and retributive. Preventive checks may be defined as checks which by their very nature tend to prevent a king from degenerating into a tyrant. By retributive checks, kings are punished for wrongs committed by them. Preventive checks may be subdivided into internal preventive checks and external preventive checks. These external preventive checks may again be classified under two heads namely religious and political. Retributive checks are of three kinds namely fines, deposition and tyrannicide. After reviewing all theoretical checks at length, it will be hazardous to say that Hindu monarchy has always been arbitrary.

4

As I have discussed already in the introduction we are dealing here with ideas, concepts, rather than with historical facts. However, it would be interesting to see whether the theories we have discussed here have ever been materialized. So far as Ancient India is concerned, say up to the seventh century A. D. it is safe to say that they have been observed in actual practice. It is true that there were isolated cases of arbitrary rule in India. This has been made possible because there was a body which was conscious of its power and prestige, which viewed with the rulers for a share in government, which compromised with them as a safeguard against popular anger. This body is the

Priesthood (Brahmanism). It played the part of an enforcing machinery in Ancient India. Good Government in Ancient India was the result of mutual rivalry between Kshatriyas and Brahmans, each acted as a check on the other. Consequently the kings were not arbitrary. They were absolute. They turned arbitrary when the Brahmans turned arbitrary. The alliance in India has always been between the kings and priests. This traditional alliance has been broken by Buddha and Mahavira. They thundered against priestly caste. They emphasised elective theories. They unceasingly harped on the poverty of the people. They preached communism. They trained the monks in Democracy through their monasteries. They held heretical discussions in the villages, towns, and cities. They carried the movement to the masses. But Brahmanism survived the sledge-hammer attacks of Buddhism and Jainism, because Brahmans changed themselves. From beef-eaters they became converted to vegetarians. From sacrifice worshipers they turned into non-violent preachers. They invented myths, fortified their position, deified the kings, Flattered the ministers, doped the masses and once more acted as a powerful check on kings.

But this revived Brahmanism soon began to decay. Society became static. It became non-expansive. The mechanical aspects of religion soon began to tell. The hypocritical structure that rested on uneasy foundations began to crumble. It lacked fresh infusion of "new ethics." With the decay of Brahmanism began the rise of the arbitrary power of the kings. It was accentuated by political, economic and religious considerations. Politically India was devastated by central Asiatic barbarians. Economically, it was exploited; religiously, it refused to imbibe new ideas. The decay of Brahmanism means more than this. It meant the decay of enforcing machinery. There was no one to question the arbitrary character of the king. The movements that arose later periodically, unsuccessful-

fully battered against the Himalayan structure of Brahmanism, only to be drowned in the stagnant pool of Brahmanism. All movements of revolt were reformist in character. They were circumscribed by institutions around. Their ideology could not soar above the current one. Hence today Brahmanism is the greatest contradiction in our Hindu civilization⁸⁹.

This growth of arbitrary power could be seen even today in Indian States. The doctrine of paramountcy has already unearthed and curbed some of these exercises of arbitrary power. Summing up, in Ancient India kings were absolute but not arbitrary. They were not arbitrary because there was an enforcing machinery in Brahmins. They became arbitrary when Brahmins broke down.

NOTES :

1. Manu, XII. 46. 51.24.
2. See Mr. R. G. Pradhan's article in "Modern Review", Feb. 1916, pp. 154-5.
3. Manu, VII, 44, 46-51, 53.
4. Ibid., VII, 14.
5. Ibid., VII, 28.
6. Ibid., VII, 80.
7. Ibid., VIII, 303.
8. Ibid., VIII, 304-9; IX, 253.
9. Ibid., VIII. 18, 316, 317, 343, 344, 346, 386, 387, 420; IX. 249, 254.
10. Ibid., VII. 48; VIII. 171; IX. 243-4; 246-7.
11. Manu VII, 32.
12. Ibid., XI. 4.
13. Ibid., IX. 313-16.
14. Ibid., VII. 133.
15. Ibid., VII. 134-6.
16. Kautilya, 'Artha Sastra', Book I, Sec. 9, (S. B. E. Vol. II.)
17. Book I. 313, See also Apastamba, (S. B. E. Vol. II) ii, 5-10. Gautama (S.B. E. Vol. II), 12; Baudhyana Dharma Sutra (Mysore Oriental Series, translation S. B. E. Series, Vol. XIV (i. 10. 187 and 8).
18. A. B. Keith and A. A. Mac Donnell. "Vedic Index" Vol. I. p. 113; Vol. II, p. 90.
19. See H. Oldenburg, "Religion of the Vedas", p. 12.
20. Julius Eggeling, S. B. E. Vol. XII, Introduction, p. 9-11.
21. Commentary on Verses 30 and 31 of Chapter IV of Kamandaka (Trivandrum Edition), also translated by M. N. Dutt.
22. See Tamil Lexicon (Madras University) Vol. 1, pt. iii. p. 579.
23. Trivandrum edition, p. 56.
24. Sukra Niti, tr. by B. N. Sarkar, ii, 78-81.
25. Cf. Arthasastra; B. K. viii, see. iv.

26. Mahabharata, Adi Parvan, C. XXXVI, 77-84.
27. Mahabharata Adi Parvan, CLXXXVI, 11-16.
28. Ibid Vana Parvan, XXVI. 15.
29. The Raja Suya according to Dr. R.H. Mitra spreads over a period of twelve months (see his "Indo Aryans" Vol. II, p. 29). According to Eggeling (S. B. E. Vol. XLI, p. XXV), it takes more than two years. Dr. Mitra must have made a wrong computation of the period, which even according to the Taittiriya- Brahmana, followed by Dr. Mitra, exceeds 12 months. Cf. Carlyle, Vol. I, p. 214; Stubbs "Constitutional History of England," Vol. 1, 161-6.
30. Satapatha Brahmana (Asiatic Society of Bengal), translated by J. Eggeling in Sacred Books of the East Series, V. 4. 4. 7. For literature on Raja Suya, See N. N. Law "Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity ", 1921. p. 161.
31. VIII. 18.
32. Aitareya, VIII. 15.
33. Mahabharata (Santi Parvan, Calcutta Ed., Lix 106,107).
34. Ramayana, Ayodhya Kanda, 21. 32; 6. 16.
35. K. P. Jayaswal, " Hindu Polity " (2 Vols, in one) Vol.11, p. 38-39; 49.
36. Ibid p. 39, 49.
37. For coronation oaths and their constitutional significance see Jayaswal, op. cit., pp. 14-53.
38. Epigraphica Indica, VIII. pp. 43,44.
39. Jataka. Vol. I. p. 391, (Edited by Fausboll, Kopenhagen in 6 volumes).
40. Manu, VII. 17.
41. Ibid., VII. 27.
42. Ibid., VII. 30-31.
43. K. S. R. Sastri, " Hindu Culture ", p. 93.
44. Aitareya Brahmana, viii. 26.
45. Brihadaranyakopnishad. (Nirnaya Sagata Edition) I, IV. 14. Satapatha Brahmana, XIV. iv. 2.23.
46. See N. C. Bandopadhyaya, "Development of Hindu Polity and Political Theories", Part I. 1927,272-4.
47. Jaiminiya Sutras, 1,1, 2.
48. Arthasastra I, 7. In the Matsya Purana the first **duty** of a king on ascending the throne is to " pick out worthy men for his assembly as his advisers" since the 'smallest function cannot successfully be performed by one single man'. Ch. 215 (S.B.H.).
49. Manu, VII. 30-31. Yajñawalkya, i. 311 (Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay).
50. Kautilya. ' Arthasastra', Bk. i. Sec. XV.
51. Cf. Kamandaka, XI. 68.
52. Epigraphica Leylanca, Vol. 1. No. 21. Cf. Banerjee, " Public Administration in Ancient India ", p. 5
53. Epigraphic Zeylanica, Vol. i, No. 14 and also Vol. ii; No. 6. Cf. Macdonnell, " History of Sanskrit Literature", p. 158 " The King's Power was by no means absolute, being limited by the will of the people expressed in the tribal assembly." For further references to the influence of ministers on kings, see Sukra II, 164. R. Fick, "Social Organization in N. E. India" translated, p. 140. R. G. Basak, " Ministers in Ancient India ". Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. I, No. 3-4,1925.
54. Dighanikaya, Agganna Suttanta, 21 Vol. III, p. 93.
55. Mcllwain (King James) Introduction, xxvi-vii.

56. S. B. S. vol. XLIV. p. 269.
57. Artha Sastra, VI. I.
58. Ibid., VII. 5.
59. Ibid., I. 10.
60. Usurpers of thrones are also tyrants and hence killed.
See Matsya Purana, Chap. 214 (S. B. H.).
61. Arthasastra, 1, 6.
62. Santi Parva, see. 92. V. N. Ghoshal makes Sukra the first originator of this distinction (Hindu Political Theories, p. 258), and again on p. 100 of his book gives the credit to another.
63. Santi Parva, sec. 92.
64. See Manu, V, 96-97; VII, 4-8; Sukra 1, 139-43. Footnote p. 71 Bancye, op. cit., Footnote p. 182-3 Ghoshal, op. C I.
65. D. R. Bhandarkar, " Carmichael Lectures", 1918 p. 136 (Footnote).
66. Santi Parva Sec. 59; Matsya Purana (S. B. H.). Part 1, Ch. X.
67. Aitareya Brahmana.
68. Chap. 225, 31-32.
69. Jatakas, Vol. f, Edited by Cowell.
70. Jatakas vol. III.
71. Ibid., vol. V. Compare what the Buddhist monk Aryadeva says "what superciliousness is thine (OKing) thou who art a mere servant of the multitude and who receivest the sixth part of the produce as thine wages." See Sukra for hints at deposition. I, 277-8; 279-80; II 5 8; IV-VII 826-9
72. Sukra 1, 63, 69-70, 139-40, 171.
73. Sukra II, 515-6.
74. Sutra 341, S. B. H. Vol. 21.
75. Benerje, op. cit.; p. 89 (footnote).
76. For historical examples see B. K. Sarkar, "Political Theories and Institutions of the Hindus". Chap. 4, Sec. 7.
77. E. W. Hopkins " Epic Mythology" p. 184.
78. Sukra Niti I, 375.
79. Mc Ilwain, op. cit., P. XXXV. p. 248.
80. Ibid., p. 307. See also J. R. Tanner.. "Constitutional Documents of James I, 1603-1625", pp. 24-30.
81. Mc Ilwain, op. cit., P. XXXVII.
82. Ibid., op. cit., P. XXXVIII.
83. Ibid., op. cit., P. XXXIX.
84. Ibid., op. cit., P. XXXIX.
85. Tanner, op. cit., p. 8-9. (p. 4-9) for documents up to p. 22. See also J. N. Figgis, "The Divine Right of Kings". 2nd Edition, 1914, Chapter X.
86. John of Salisbury (Policraticus III c. 15) III vol. of Library of European Political Thought, Edited by H. J. Laski, 1915, p. 143.
87. Ibid., p. 144.
88. Rev. R. H. Murray, 'Political Consequences of Reformation' p: 238. John of Salisbury was the first mediaeval writer to erect tyrannicide into a doctrine and defend it with reasoned arguments. See John Dickinson, ' The Stalmsman Book of John of Salisbury' Intro, p. LXXII, see, pp. LXVI-LXXX.
89. Sir William Hall Warner "The Native States of India". 4910 Chapters X-XI. 7

V. PARALLELISM BETWEEN WESTERN AND INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

The political thought of Europe was evolved out of the synthesis of the original ideas inherited from the Graeco-Romans with those cosmic ideas inherent in the Hebraic teachings which came to Europe with the preaching of Christianity¹.

Early in the Dark Ages, the ideal of pluralistic discipline in the City State evolved by Hellenic political genius, or that of popular government based on the existence of rights and obligations on the part of the ruler and the ruled, as conceived by the formulators of Jus Naturale, went down before the conception of the omnipotent authority of the deified Imperator of Rome. With the establishment of the feudalistic regime and the enunciation of the salvation of mankind through the working of the dual discipline of the church and the empire regal authority came to be associated with a moral sanction, though for the time being the "Divine Right" idea was non-existent, and popular bodies continued to exercise their functions while turbulent nobles repudiated the claim of monarchs to allegiance. In course of the struggle between the Papacy and the Empire, philosophers and divines like Thomas Aquinas fell back on the traditions of Roman law and formulated the idea of natural law being the basis of civil society. At the same time, devout churchmen struggled to prove the excellence of papal authority, while the adherents of the empire emphasised the divine sanction associated with the empire².

Gradually, politics was freed from the influence of religion and with Bodin³ and Machiavelli,⁴ the modern theory of the political sovereignty of the State and its concept from the secular standpoint came to be formulated. About the same time another set of thinkers⁵ advocating regal responsibility, harped on the divine right of kings, now freed from papal authority through the reformation. Partly with the

opposition of orthodox churchmen and partly with the theocratic idealism of the Calvinists, these extreme theorists of divine right were attacked by men like Languit, Buchanan, Bellarmine and Mariana, who all attributed the rise of regal authority to the people's will and a mutual pact. In the next generation of political thinkers, we find a conflict between this divine right vested in kings through patriarchal succession from Adam⁶ and the theory of popular election of kings justifying tyrannicide when kings ruled unrighteously⁷. In the course of this conflict when despotic regal authority came into clash with the interests and aspirations of the people, a number of thinkers propounded the origin of society in a contract between the ruler and the ruled. Hobbes who followed Hooker regarded the state of nature as one of war⁸. This state of war necessitated the laying down of conventions amongst the people and the establishment of a common superior who was to exercise authority though he was no party to a binding contract with the people. Authority once vested in the king was indivisible and perpetual, unless his conduct led to anarchy which alone justified revolution on the part of the subjects for their self-preservation.

Influenced by circumstances, Hobbes showed a preference for monarchy and its authority. His successor, Locke⁹, on the contrary portrayed a state of nature which was an ideal condition of equality and freedom in which men were governed by the mutual law of reason. But as this "state was full of fears and dangers" men renounced, according to Locke, natural liberty in favour of civil liberty. Gradually a legislative authority was erected and the best men were elected to rulership. Thus, according to him, the legislative power of sovereigns was a juduciary power for certain ends and was liable to removal in case of its arbitrary exercise. These theories held ground for a time and under their influence many publicists of Europe cried back to nature¹⁰. The

Encyclopaedists like Montesquieu however advocated a moderate constitutional regime¹¹. But as circumstances never became favourable for reform, it was reserved for Rousseau with his idealistic and deductive method to reformulate the "Contract Social" with a view to prove the entire dependence of regal authority upon popular choice and the real rule of the people¹².

The history of Hindu political speculation, similarly, shows a conflict and ultimate synthesis of several currents and counter currents of ideas. The different angles of vision of the thinkers who looked at these problems from the ethical or the sacerdotal point of view have been discussed, and I have summarised the different theories arising out of their peculiar ways of viewing the problems. In the earlier stages of Indian speculation this sacerdotal influence was very great and politics was intimately connected with religion, as we have seen in connection with the ideas contained in Brahmanas. Gradually the ethical and social needs of man claimed greater attention and there came a tendency to look to these problems somewhat independently. This took place in the same age which saw the metaphysical speculations relating to the universal phenomena, and the same amount of abstraction was directed towards the solution of socio-ethical problems. The influence of these is found in the speculations about the origin of sovereignty, the need of a king and the concept of a state of nature which existed prior to the establishment of regal authority. These show indeed a parallelism of development so far as India and mediaeval Europe are concerned.

On many points we have little of essential differences. The Indian thinkers grappled with the same problems and anticipated many ideas of the mediaeval theorists. The speculations about the necessity of a common superior led them to postulate a state of nature. The concept of a state of nature has had its parallel in Europe. Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau all made it the basis of their political theories.

As the conceptions of Hobbes materially differed from those of Locke, even so, the two Indian concepts regarding this natural condition differed from each other. Hobbes' theory of a state of nature is almost the same as we find in the sixty seventh chapter of the Santi Parva, which regards the condition of man in a natural state as one of war. The theory of Locke is nearly similar to that of the propounders of the Dharma ideal. In chapter fifty-nine again, in formulating the importance of Danda, as the basis of state, Hindu thinkers anticipated many theories of the seventeenth century.

While we find a clear parallelism, we also find differences in the line of thought between Indian thinkers and those of the West. In most places relating to the origin and exercise of sovereign authority, we find Indian thinkers interposing the agency of the divine rulers, showing thereby the close dependence of political ideas or those relating to the universal system. This peculiarity is clearly noticeable as well as the fact that religion and the peculiar cosmic ideas made a deeper influence in India so far as the ethical ideas were concerned. Then again, the divine agents remained ever present in the Indian mind, and made the deepest impression in spite of the growth of a higher philosophy which directed itself towards the conception of the Absolute. While these gave a peculiar turn to Indian political speculation, divinity in social evolution gave rise to certain principles which have exercised their influence even to this day.

The causes are: first of all the Indians believed in a social existence which depended for its smooth working on the harmonious co-operation of sections, mutually interdependent, but not enjoying the same and equal social status. They believed in a Gothic structure of harmony on the ruins of social inequality. The castes which composed the social structure were but parts of the same organization, though their functions and status were not the same. Social equality never became

the ideal with Indian thinkers, save with Kshatriya thinkers like Buddha, Mahavira and a few others. This was partly due to the fact that a composite society grew out of a social federation of races and tribes whose ethnic divergences and cultural differences made unification impossible. Such a type of social existence was conceived in view of the fact that it would ensure the socio-economic co-operation of sections and avoid at the same time the race war which would have been the necessary consequence of a hankering after a homogeneous social structure. The Indian mind, with a few exceptions, never yearned after equality but delighted in diversities. The political necessity of equality was circumscribed in a social hierarchy. It was explained away by the cries of Karma and Rebirth. Hence a strife of classes was unavoidable.

Secondly, a society composed of diverse ethnic elements required for its normal working a strong executive authority and a set of fundamental principles to guide the actions of the ruler. As such regal authority was erected on a stronger basis, and monarchy became the ideal of Hindu political philosophers. But at the same time, the holder of the regal office was subjected to the fundamental laws of the disciplinary canon, both social and political. The scope of popular activity in matters of legislation was also narrowed down. Laws were allowed to evolve gradually and their interpretation was vested not in the multitude but in the wise exponents of real social opinion. Within their own folds, communities had the fullest scope in theory for democratic social life and their customs were regarded as valid. In social and economic matters too the representatives of the different sections had their recognized place. But the fundamental principles guiding social life as a whole were kept out of the reach of the multitude.

Thirdly, the elevation of the Brahman to the highest social position showed the seeds of decay. With it begins the decline and fall of Indian culture. It had

its positive effect too. Wealth never became the standard or sole basis of political franchise¹³.

NOTES:

1. A. J. and R. W. Carlyle, "A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West", Vol. 1. p. 2 & 3. "Modern political theory has arisen by a slow process of development out of the political theory of the ancient world." Cf. 82, 85, 103, (for influence of Judaism) 150-153, 157-9.
2. J. N. Figgis, "Divine Right of Kings", 1914, p. 14.
3. J.W.Allen, "A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century", 1928. pp. 407-425.
4. Geza Engelmann, "Political Philosophy from Plato to Jeremy Bentham", 1927, translated by K. F. Geiser, p. 115. Machiavelli has very often been admired and celebrated as the founder of modern political theory, because he was the first who completely separated politics from both religion and ethics and based exclusively upon human nature and the reasoning of individuals regarded as entirely selfish. Engelmann doubts this title to glory.
5. Mcllwain, op. cit., P. XXVI (Introduction to King James). "The growth of the idea of divine right may be regarded as the second great result of the Jesuit doctrine". P. XXV. "It is hardly too much to say that it was in opposition to the Pope's indirect power which made the theory of the divine right of kings the gospel of practically all English Protestants in this age save such as could secure protection for their non-conformity only under a theory of independence or separation."
6. Figgis, op. cit., pp. 148-160. Sir Robert Filmer "Patriarch" 1681.
7. Mariana, See Allen, p. 360-366. G. P. Gooch, "English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century", 1927, p. 22.
8. F. W. Coker, "Readings in Political Philosophy", Hobbes, pp. 303-306.
9. Coker, op. cit., 386-391, 391-393.
10. R. H. Murray. "The History of Political Science"; 1926. p. 232.
11. Coker, op. cit., p. 474.
12. Ibid., p. 478, also 483-486.
13. For literature on western theory :
Ivor Brown, "English Political Theory", chapter 5. Gurke, "Mediaeval Political Theories", translated by F. W. Maitland, 1827, p. 30-37. J. Allen, "Political Thought in Sixteenth Century", chapter on Divine Rights of Kings.
C. H. Mcllwain, "The Growth of Political Thought in the West", 1932. Conclusion: 364-394. W. Lippman, "A Preface to Morals", 1929, p. 79, 265.

VI. CONCLUSION

Theories of resistance, deposition and tyrannicide are naturally inconsistent with the divine conception of kingship. Their justification comes only in an age in which duties and responsibilities on either side are postulated. On the other hand, the influence of a theory of divine origin would but lead to the inculcation of the king's inviolability and obedience to his authority irrespective of the manner of discharge of his functions. When the divine theory was enunciated by the despots of Europe, some of them like James I denounced opposition to their authority as something blasphemical. On the contrary the end of despotism was synchronous with the almost universal acceptance of the theories of social contract, as explained by Locke and Rousseau. But in India this theory had a different turn.

According to Figgis¹ the theory of the Divine Right of Kings in its completest form involves the following propositions:

1. Monarchy is a divinely ordained institution. We have seen that in later Hindu theory, the Brahmans held the same view.

2. Hereditary right is indefeasible. The succession to monarchy is regulated by the law of primogeniture. The right acquired by birth cannot be forfeited through any acts of usurpation of however long continuance by any incapacity in the heir or by any act of deposition. So long as the heir lives, he is king by hereditary right even though the usurping dynasty has reigned for thousand years.

The Hindu theorist never held this extreme view. In the later theorists it became hereditary but the elective notion is involved in the coronation ceremony. It is a tacit approval of election. The theorists at the same time overruled primogeniture on the ground of incapacity. Even the reactionary Brahmin writers, emphasised the qualities of a prince. If he is

incapacitated, although he is the first - born, he is debarred from the throne. In this respect, the Hindu theory differs from that of the West.

3. Kings are accountable to God alone². Nasada believes in this extreme theory. Manu too holds the same view but he is self-contradictory. He makes him accountable in some ways. According to the Brahmin theory the Brahmans are the veritable Gods on earth. If a king transgresses he must expiate for his sins. In order to do that, he must amply reward the Brahmans. He must offer sacrifices to the Gods. All the offerings and gifts go to the pot-bellied Brahman. In other words the theory is equivalent to saying that kings are accountable to Brahmans. Otherwise Brahmans do not praise the kings. They defy the orthodox elective theory. They put upstarts investing them with divine powers. Law in Hindu theory is independent of the king. It exists outside of him. Law is divinely ordained i. e., Brahmin-made. In Hindu theory a mixed monarchy is not a contradiction of terms.

4. Non-resistance and passive obedience are enjoined by God³. The Hindu theorists advocated resistance. Only Kamandaka does not advocate tyrannicide. All other theorists advocate resistance. The Brahmans themselves resisted the power of the kings. The theistic checks alone are their inventions. Non-resistance and passive obedience are enjoined by Brahmans so long as it suited their purposes. When it did not suit their purposes, they recommended resistance.

The divine right of kings never existed in India in its extreme form. All that the Hindu theory emphasised was the divine origin of the institution. It did not logically deduce the necessary implications as in the West. It would be better to speak of "Brahmin theory of kings or kingship in India" instead of "Divine Right of kings or kingship in India."

NOTES:

1. Figgis, op. cit., p. 5.

2. Figgis, op. cit., p. 5.

3. Figgis, op. cit., p. 6.

STUDIES IN HINDU MATERIALISM

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PREFACE

These papers are originally intended as a contribution towards "A History of Materialist Thought in India up to the 16th Century A.D.". Since many of the chapters have not yet been written and are in preparation, I thought it better to present these that are ready under the title "Studies in Hindu Materialism". *Each essay is complete in itself.* The first essay "Some Hindu Materialists—Brihaspati and Charvaka" is as an introduction to the topic as a whole. These essays are arranged in somewhat a chronological order which is easily intelligible. They are:

- I. Some Hindu Materialists-Brihaspati and Charvaka (1200-200 B.C)
- II. Kapila—An Introduction to Early Sankhya Philosophy (700-600 B.C)
- III. Post Upanishadic Materialist Thinkers (1,000-600 B.C)
- IV. Materialist Aspects of "Bhagawadgita" (500 B.C)
- V. Materialist Aspects of Prabhodha Chandrodaya" (700 A.D)
- VI. Vemana—A Materialist (1400 A.D)

The first essay contains a complete bibliography on the subject of Hindu Materialism in general and on those writers, Brihaspati and Charvaka in particular. The third and fourth essays contain bibliographies relative to these topics. I have placed the bibliographies at the end of the essays, as they are complete by themselves instead of at the end of the paper as a whole. The bibliographies for the other essays are indicated in the footnotes of the respective essays.

1

Some Hindu Materialists - Brihaspati and Charvaka (1200-200 B.C.)

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INTRODUCTION

Why did not the Indian scholars take to the study of Indian materialism?

The subject of Indian Materialism has not attracted the attention of Indian scholars save one.¹ The few books that we have on this subject are due to European initiative. It was in the year 1828 that Wilson for the first time spoke of Indian materialists almost in a casual manner.² He calls charvakas advocates of materialism or atheism. In the year 1837, Colebrook dealt with the subject of Hindu Materialism. On that occasion he wrote that, for want of an opportunity of consulting an original treatise on this branch of philosophy or any connected summary furnished even by an adversary of opinions professed by Lokayats, he was unable to give any sufficient account of their doctrines.³ After this, 'Sarvadarsana Samgraha,' an opposition work of the 14th century A.D., was discovered.⁴ This work gives an account of the Lokayata System⁵ from the point of view of the writer, a Vedantist. Cowell translated somewhat roughly this work in the year 1862 and published it in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.⁶ Since his writing,⁷ Muir wrote an article on Hindu Materialists. He gave large extracts from a few later texts illustrating materialistic tenets.⁸ In 1873 Cowell contributed an Appendix to the collected works of Colebrook.⁹ He mostly emphasised there the theory of knowledge held by the Lokayats. We know of no other work since then till 1899. In that year Rhys Davids, the great Buddhist scholar, sketched the history of Lokayata with a different interpretation. He used this word "Lokayata" in the sense of "nature-lore," and supported this meaning by many extracts from-Sanskrit and Pali sources.¹⁰ This brought to light the quesiton of Buddhist materialists.¹¹ This work has cleared the ground a good deal. In the same year 1899, Hillebrandt gave a short sketch of Hindu materialism. He cited Muir in his work.¹² He did not seem to be aware of the work of Rhys Davids. Max Mueller in the same year referred to the Lokayats.¹³ In the year 1907 an

Italian, Pizzagalli, published a work on this subject.¹⁴ This is the first systematic work published in the form of a book. The previous writers showed the way in the form of articles. In 1908 a French scholar, Suali, wrote of materials for a history of materialism in India.¹⁵ He confined himself to, and largely drew his material from, a later text of the sixth century A.D.¹⁶ This article is valuable for the large extracts he made from the text.

Not till 1916 do we again hear of any other writer on Hindu Materialism. Garbe has given a brief sketch of Lokayata, not adding much to what was known already,¹⁷ Poussin gave a sketch of Hindu Materialism in the same year. He confined himself largely to Ajita Kesa Kambalin. In support of his statements he has given valuable Buddhist sources.¹⁸ Even at this stage, when the nationalist movement was at its zenith, we do not hear of any Hindu writer dealing with Materialism. Up to this time it must not be thought that there were no other European writers who referred to Materialism. There were many,¹⁹ and they referred to Indian materialism in a small manner. The next important work was by an Italian scholar, Tucci, in 1923.²⁰ It is significant that some Italian scholars have taken to the study of Indian Materialism. Some others have taken to the study of Culture and Political Science in ancient India.²¹ The next general work is that of Shastri. The date of publication is not known. He mentions Tucci. It must have been after 1923 and around 1928. He wrote an article in 1931 dealing with some aspects of materialism.²² He is the only Hindu writer on this topic.

We see that this important phase of Hindu thought has been only casually noticed by European enquirers.²³ I now understand that a work on 'Indian Materialism' in Russian has appeared in Moscow recently. At Sun Yet Sen University, Moscow, Thalheimer gave a lecture on 'Indian Materialism' in 1927. (A. Thalheimer: 'Introduction to Dialectical Materialism, chapter on 'Indian Materialism.' pp. 102-115). The omission of treatment of this phase of thought by Hindu scholars is not accidental. Why? Were the social conditions and wants of the times favourable for such a treatment?²⁴

At the time when Hindu culture was unknown to European scholars and to Europeans in general, when missionary vilification of Indian was great,²⁵ came the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784.

Wilkins, Jones, and Colebrook inaugurated the new science of Sanskrit Philology. Till 1830 European scholars paid attention only to classical Sanskrit. Gradually the studies were extended to the Vedas, Upanishads and Buddhism. They came to know the oldest period of India last. The foundation of the Pali Text Society in 1881 gave a further impetus to the study of Buddhism. In 1883 and 1885, Weber made another branch of literature available, that of the Jains. By the end of the 19th century the progress of Indian studies reached its high mark.²⁶

Before the discovery of these literatures, the Indians were regarded as heathens. In the early stages research was solely confined to Philology. That the heatheness produced a wonderful literature astonished that Europeans when their research into Philology led them to study Sanskrit literature.

Philology led in turn to the development of of researches in Archaeology, Epigraphy, Numismatics, Inscriptions, editions of original Texts, and so on. These in turn necessitated research into Indian History in general. The second stage of Research in India is characterised by its emphasis on historical studies. Everything depended on the fixing of dates. Still, with a few exceptions, Indians have not yet taken to history-writing. The rise of Indian historians coincided with the rise and development of Indian Nationalism. R.C. Dutt is the father of Indian nationalist historians. At this stage European scholars themselves encouraged the Indians to take to the study of history.

The heathen stage corresponded to that when Philology did not yet dominate the field of Indian research. When it did, it gradually led to the study of Indian history.

Another stage in the social development of India made necessary a corresponding phase of research. For years the Indians were told that they knew very little of politics, that they had no textbooks on politics, that their capacity for political thinking was little. This was direct challenge to the nationalists. The few historical and philological researches did not enable them to counteract these derogatory remarks. At this time the Nationalist movement in India broadened from land-owning professional classes to the rising trading-merchant, usurer-industrialist classes. The objective content of their demands equally widened. The need for political research

was discovered in Southern India in 1906.²⁷ The growth of the Nationalist movement, and the discovery of this text, gave a powerful impetus to the development of Political Research.

As a result, more Indians took to the study of Indian Political Science. Between the years 1914 and 1932, text after text on Political Science was published. Scores of works in the original have been edited on this subject. Many doctoral theses in European Universities were written on Indian Political Science. This research was a need for Nationalist claims and it was helped by the previous philological and historical researches.

Research in India had three romances. It showed all the enthusiasm and the defects of Romantists. The early Sanskritists showed an enthusiasm for philological research, as the Factory Inspectors showed for the working class in the nineteenth-century England. The need was felt by one class, but their demands were voiced by another class. That was the historic mission of the early Sanskritists. The later Sanskritist were aided by a few Indian scholars and together inaugurated a new era in historical research. This was a stage of collaboration. The leadership was still in the hands of Europeans. The third stage is definitely characterised by Indian studies suited to the angle of political science. It must not be thought that research did not tackle other fields. Researches into Indian Medicine, Astronomy, Surgery, and other fields were the natural outcome of "political research." The Honeymoon phase of these stages is now over. Today research in India is on a stock-taking level, comparison-verification level, reconstruction level.

Then came another event. With the year 1880 may be dated the Indian Industrial Revolution. The processes at work may be dated as early as 1850. The development of plantation industries is the fore-runner of the Indian Industrial Revolution. The development of capitalism, of a colonial character, has begun. These changes wrought in social economy by this event - the shifting of the population, the growth of towns, the rise of the Proletariat, the preletarianisation of the peasantry - created changes in the existing needs and values.²⁸ Such needs grew to consciousness earlier among the rising middle class than among the proletariat or the peasantry. The organisation of this consciousness took several forms. In the political sphere, it took or the form of Nationalism. In

the industrial sphere, it took the form of Productionism. In the social sphere, it took the form of Reform. The rising middle class felt the shackles of Brahminism as much as those of feudalism. Brahminism was a brake upon their free development in accordance with their new needs.²⁹ The result was a crop of reform movements all over the country. Herein lies the origin of these movements. These movements took the characteristics of the place where they originated. In Bengal, it led to the Brahmo Samaj; in the Punjab, it led to the Arya Samaj; in Bombay, it led to the Sarvajanika Sabha; in Madras, it led to Theosophy. In Bengal, the movement stood for Modernism; in Punjab, it stood for anti-westernism; in Bombay, it stood for Liberalism; in Madras, it stood for eclecticism. As analysis of these movements discloses the class and national characteristics of these movements. These movements felt the need for research as much as the general political movement. The illustrious leaders, like Ranade, Bhandarkar, Chintamani-ablest scholars of India - took to Social Research. At this stage, political research differentiated itself into other fields, particularly into social research. An enquiry into the Caste System, an enquiry into the child-marriage system - these are the topics of the social research school. But these social research scholars wore Whig pants on Indian shirts. They were more content to vegetate in reformism in negative denials rather than to display the "positive background of Indian Sociology."³⁰

So far we see that these scholars have not felt the need for a more positive interpretation of Indian culture. Research in India correctly reflected the needs of the class, the rising middle class - of which most of the researchers are composed, save the early Sanskritists who played the conscious part for the Indian middle class. Curiously at that time, the middle class was in its nascent stage.³¹

Research in India has not reflected the needs of the Proletariat and the Peasantry. The Proletariat in India, in spite of the great social forces in its favour, lacks leadership, organisations, and political education. The subjective elements are weak. It has no tradition of "Emancipation groups". It has no working class ideologies. It acquired its few "historic levels" of consciousness in its strike-struggles, in its struggles for an organisation, for its existence. The interests of the rising middle classes do not coincide,

except at certain definite historical periods, with the interests of the proletariat.³² Naturally, the middle classes did not take to research which will aid and reflect the needs of the Proletariat. Nor is the Proletariat in India strong enough to conduct its own research. Coming out of the "primitive idiocy" of village life, with no past experience of factory or mental indiscipline, with the inherited background of inertia of ages, with the stamp of Brahminism and illiteracy writ large on its brow, cowed by a jobber³³ bullied by an employer, fleeced by a money-lender, squeezed by a priest, exploited by the government and its land-owning, professional trading-merchant, usurer-industrialist class allies, the Indian proletariat is still weak. Its consciousness is also weak.³⁴ But Trade and Politics, Industry and Capital are drawing this class which had remained sunk in apathetic indifference, into the whirl of history. With the present increase in consciousness, organisation and experience, is also seen the appearance of working class papers and magazines³⁵ and the need for its own research.

Nor is the proletariat allowed to imbibe a ready-made ideology which suits their interests, which expresses their needs, which leads them to paths of revolutionary action. The government and its allies are in its way. Neither is the expression of their own experience of daily struggles with the ruling classes given a free scope. 'A Communist Manifesto' of 1848 is a taboo in India. A moderate strike leader is summarily executed for "high treason" and misdemeanour against His Majesty the King. A friend of the Soviet Union, whatever his class, is a sedition-monger. An organiser of the working class consciousness is given a prison in the Laccadive or Maldive islands. Or he is sent off the road to Mandalay.

Research in India did not reflect the needs of the Peasantry. If Civilisation has made Peasantry its pack animal, in India the peasantry is treated worse than a pack animal. In Taine's words, the Indian peasant has been "the mule" of three autocracies - the Hindu, the Moslem, and the British. He is exploited in a four-fold direction, by the Government, by the land-owner, by the money-lender, and by the village priest.³⁶ No where has Priestdom taken such strong roots as in rural India. The question of the emancipation of the Proletariat and the Peasantry in India is at bottom as question of the emancipation of the Indian society from Brahminism, Feudalism and Imperialism. Here too, the interests of the rising

middle classes did not coincide with the interests of the agricultural proletariat.³⁷ But the phenomenal growth of the peasant movement during the last four years and the increase in their consciousness is reflected in the appearance of Kisan publications and the need for their own political researches.

The increasing failure of the political demands of the rising middle classes, and their inability to gain further commercial successes³⁸ hastens their movement towards socialism,³⁹ towards recognition of the interests of the proletariat and the Peasantry. The pressure from above is equally balanced by pressure from below. The momentum of this pressure towards socialism-towards the recognition of the interests of the Proletariat and Peasantry-is reflected, meagre as it is, in research as well.⁴⁰ This is the reason why we produced one book only on Indian Materialism.

We now see why the question of the treatment of Indian materialism by the Indian writers is not accidental. A history of materialism in India is a history of Brahminism. It is also a history of the social conditions which gave birth to brahminism, a history of the class domination of the Brahmin class. It is a history of oppression and general reaction all round. In short it is a history of the social question in India. Consequently no class but the Proletariat and the Peasantry or its ideologues could voice this need for research. The "political research school" did not understand that every political question is at bottom a social question.⁴¹ These two schools in twin avoided any treatment of "positive" materialist thought in India. The very researches into Artha Sastra (Hindu political science) reveal that Lokayata (Materialism) is a fore-runner of Artha Sastra.⁴² Yet not a word has been said on Lokayata.

Read any journal of the learned or non-learned societies in India, look where you will, you are confronted with Indian political science and allied topics. But no where do you find references to Materialism, save in Colebrooke, Muir or Cowell.

The pioneering work of European scholars is to be commended. Muir gave us a glimpse of the possibility of reconstructing a history of Indian Materialism, Suali was ambitious but he did not go further than merely citing a later text. Rhys Davids did not go further than Buddhism. The following papers are humble attempts to meet this gap in a reconstruction of "a history of materialist thought in India".

It has been the peculiar misfortune of India to be known more by her superficialities than by her essentials. India is not a country of tigers and snakes alone. It is not all a country of saints and hermits. Nor is it "loin cloth" and "goat's milk", Taj-Mahal, Seville Row, the white residences of Simla are not the whole of India. India did not always pray and meditate.⁴³ India has its teeming masses, its struggles, its history. Those who only know an ascetic India do not understand India.⁴⁴ Its masses struggled for life, groaning under the weight of oppression, rebelled, took to arms, were defeated and misled. Now and then a Buddha, a Mahavira, an Ashoka, a Chaitanya came across their way. What little they gained they lost. Autocracy after autocracy broke their spines. With all this, India is not without revolutionary traditions. Leaders of democratic progressive thought were non-Brahmins.⁴⁵ Some of her kings were of non Kshatriya origin⁴⁶ The best protestant thought is from non-Brahmana castes.⁴⁷ Even in our own generation, India's first labour leader was a workman.⁴⁸ Likewise, India is not wanting in materialist thinkers. Not all thought is other-worldly. Not all thought is idealistic.

Materialist thought in India is one phase of her struggles, her history. What is "materialist thought"? Broadly speaking, it is the view that upholds the primacy of matter to other things. Any attempt to define "materialism" and seek for such a thing in the history of India is not only absurd but futile. Because materialism has changed in content at every epoch in Indian history. Materialism is also the natural born son of India.⁴⁹ Given the conditions, the classes, the ideas, and institutions of the Vedic period, materialist thought is bound to appear. Attempts to define that materialism is as old as philosophy and not older,⁵⁰ in this light, are also futile. In India it arose at definite stages of social development. The incomplete incoherent Vedic cosmologies, the hedonistic priesthood, the Vedic ceremonials and the philosophical tenets of the day led to the birth of materialism.⁵¹ Materialism in the early stages of Hindu culture took the form of Naturalism. It was a protest against the Supernaturalism of the day. This took several forms at that stage. It took the form of free-thinking. It took a sceptical form-yet free-thinkers and sceptics were not materialists. Of the many negative movements against Supernaturalism, Lokayata is one. It combined in itself all the features of the free-thinking and the sceptic movements of the day.

At a later stage it became agnostic. Buddhists and Jains were agnostics. They wore materialist pants. Agnosticism led in turn to Atheism. At each stage materialism depended on the knowledge of Sciences. It made use of the then obtainable knowledge of Physics, Astronomy, Logic and Psychology. Its theory of knowledge bore all the defects of the sciences of the day.

Lokayata came to be confused with Nastikas, with all heretical movements later. Hence we have to treat Lokayata in a strictly historical sense⁵² without losing sight of the conditions that gave birth to it.

At another stage it came to be regarded purely as a "theory" of sensations. Sensations were regarded as the only source of knowledge. A view is held that a materialist is one who has to do with that which may be touched, handled, seen, or otherwise perceived through the senses.⁵³ This was viewed purely from the point of view of the "physical" inquirer.

At a still later stage, it took a hedonist character. Roughly, materialist thought in India may be divided into various phases :

- I. Naturalism, against Supernaturalism, coupled with Free-thinking and Scepticism, represented by Anti-Vedins, Upanishadic and Post-Upanishadic materialist thinkers.
- II. Agnosticism, represented by some aspects of Buddhism and Jainism.
- III. Atheism, represented by early Sankhya.
- IV. Sensationalism, represented by a sect of Lokayats. One may speak of atomic or mechanical materialism here.⁵⁴
- V. Hedonism, represented by the last stage of Lokayata.

Much of the materialist thought in India is of a protestant character because it has been intensely practical and was the product of practical needs. In its protests, it has not developed its theoretical side. Knowledge of Social Sciences was weak. For want of this, most opposition writers had recourse to mysticism⁵⁵ and useless dialectics. This weakness is represented in general, in the weak theoretical works of the materialists themselves. But not all protestant thought is materialist thought. The Indian phase of materialism, because of its concrete nature, has at all times taken a stand

against supernaturalism, against magic, above all against Brahmins, their practices, and their philosophical tenets.

Materialist thought in India is one branch of thought expressing the relations between men and men, men and things, conditioned by time and space, having for its starting point the world as it is, as it exists. In the words of Russell⁵⁶ we may regard materialism in India, historically, as a dogma set up to combat orthodox dogma. Despite the wishes of the protestants, nothing less definite than a dogma enabled them to fight the dogmas they disliked.

"Philosophy is a system in development. The history of Philosophy is the same. The progression of the various stages in the advance of thought may occur with the consciousness of necessity in which case each in succession deduces itself, and this form and this determination can alone emerge ..." "... We have partly to consider more closely the particular relation borne by a philosophy to its historical surroundings and partly, but pre-eminently, what is proper to itself, from which alone, after separating everything related however closely, we can fix our standpoint. This connection, which is not merely external but essential, has thus two sides which we must consider. The first is distinctly the historical side, the second is the connection with other matters..."

"The history of the other sciences, of culture and above all the history of art and religion and partly in regard to the elements contained in them, and partly to their particular objects, related to the history of Philosophy..."

"The demand that in philosophy an historian-should have no system, should put into the philosophy nothing of his own, nor assail it with his ideas, seems a plausible one...He who understands nothing of the matter, and has no system, but merely historic knowledge will certainly be impartial...The History of Philosophy cannot be treated throughout without the introduction of the historian's views."

- Hegel: "History of Philosophy"

The historian's views are nothing but, to use Hegel, objectivised ideas, in their determinations, figurations, abstract qualities, issuing from the one ground that potentially already contains the whole.

II

HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF LOKAYATA

A

Lokayata is explained by Wilson as "the system of atheistical philosophy taught by Charvaka", and by the Petersburg Dictionary as "materialism". But in the Buddhist Suttas, Lokayata is mentioned as one branch of a good Brahmin's learning.⁵⁷ If Lokayats means "materialism", how could a good Brahmin master it as one branch of learning? It follows that Lokayata means here "nature - lore".

Kumarila Bhatta uses the term in the sense of "atheistic"⁵⁸ The exact phrase would be *Nastika*, as opposed to his own *Astikapatha* : that is, the system or the man who says "there is not", an infidel. This is somewhat wider than atheist. It comes in Kumarila's mouth to much the same thing.

Sankara uses the word Lokayata several times⁵⁹ and always in the same specific sense, as the view of those who look upon the soul as identical with the body, as existing only so long as the body exists, not continuing, after death, in a new condition and separate from the body. *Brahma-Jala Sutta* controverts a similar view.⁶⁰ This view is constantly referred to throughout the *Pitakas*.⁶¹ But it is never called Lokayata in the *Pitakas*. It seems to be the view that there is a soul; but that it diffused through the body, and dies with it; and is not a separate unit, within the body but not of it, which flies away from the body after death. So the translation of the word "Lokayata" into "materialism" is not quite exact at this stage.

Later Buddhist dialogues regard Lokayata as false knowledge:

"There is a teacher who affirms and holds that there is no such thing as alms, or sacrifice, or oblations; no such things as the fruit and harvest of deeds good or bad; no such thing as this

world or the next; no such thing in this world as a recluse or brahmin who has triumphantly walked aright, so that, of and by himself, he has comprehended this world and the next and makes them know to others. A man-he avers — is composed of the four elements. At his death the earth resumes and absorbs his earthly elements, water his watery elements, fire his fiery elements, and space his faculties. A bier and four bearers go off with the dead man, whose remains are visible as far as the channel - ground where his bones within and bleach. Oblations are words and nothing more; alma giving is nonsense; — it is a sham and a lie and idle chatter to assert the contrary. At the body's dissolution sages and fools alike are out off and perish, without any future after death"⁶²

This teaching is called an antithesis to higher life. The teaching referred to above, is that of Ajita Kesa Kambalin.

Sometimes Buddhagosha speaks of the Lokayata as foolish chatterers. A Pali commentary of 12th century A.D.⁶³ Warns the Buddhists not to follow Lokayata chatter - disputations concerned with useless matters.

The Jaina Literature confirms the Buddhist evidence. The philosophy of the Nastikas or those who deny the existence of the soul was well known to the Jains. There is a reference to those who deny and ignore the tenets of Nigranthas. Silanka understands this as an allusion to the followers of Brihaspati.⁶⁴

A more precise reference speaks of those that profess exclusive belief in the five gross elements namely earth, water, fire and sky⁶⁵ Silanka states that they hold that there is nothing beyond what is perceived by the senses, the past never returns, there is no Karman or its effects. The dead never come back, there is no future life, and that the body is but the fortuitous combination of the elements.

The parable of the Lotus pool states the doctrine in the following manner:

"There are only five elements through which is explained whether an action is good or bad. The five elements are not created, directly or indirectly, nor made ; they are neither effects nor

products, they are without beginning and end, they always produce effects, are independent of a directing cause, they are eternal. What is does not perish, from nothing nothing comes. All living beings are things, the whole world consists of nothing but these five elements. They are the primary cause of the world even down to a blade of the grass. A man buys or causes to buy, kills or causes to kill, cooks or causes to cook, he may even sell and kill a man — and even then he does not do any wrong”

This doctrine is a combination of materialist, eternalist, and anarchist ideas. The Jains understood the Lokayata sometimes as such. They are called Nastike-Vadin and Lokayata-Vadins.

Sankara says : There is thus according to them, no soul, separate from the body, and capable of going to the heavenly world or obtaining release.⁶⁶ An unknown author of a Jataka commentary of the fifth century speaks of the uselessness of their discussions.

The Maha-Bharata has precisely the same use of the word as the Pitakas. The passage in Maha-Bharata gives a list of the accomplishments of learned Brahmins who are said to be masters of Lokayata⁶⁷ Being mentioned at the end of the list, it may be inferred that this branch of learning is meant to be taken as of minor importance. But it is not yet considered unfavourably, much less opprobriously. And the Petersburg Dictionary⁶⁸ points out that the word may possibly, in this passage have some other meaning than "materialism".

In the Ramayana the word is also in a list but the Lokayatikas are blamed as "clever in useless things"⁶⁹ In the Saddharma Pundarika, of 2nd century A.D. the Mahayanist regards Lokayatikas as low people.⁷⁰ The Jaina book " Bhagavati" which Weber puts at about 2nd century A.D., puts the Lokayatikas in a similar list of blameworthy persons.⁷¹

A Tamil classic "Manimekhalai" written about 2nd century A.D.⁷² speaks of ten philosophical systems.⁷³ Bhutavada is mentioned as one of them. Bhutavada or the atheistic system is treated as almost the same as the Lokayata school.⁷⁴ The heroine of "Manimekhalai" asks Bhutavadi (materialist) for his version of philosophy.

He said:

"Just as when the flower of Taduki (*Bauhinia recemosa*) and jaggery(crude sugar) with other things are mixed fermentation springs into existence, so when the elements combine, there springs a consciousness of feeling. When they break up, this consciousness will also break up and disappear just as the sound ceases when a drum is taken out into its parts. Any one of these elements, when it is in life and has this consciousness, and when it has neither of these, springs into existence from out of the same element. This is the true course of things. Other details of the teaching that I may have to expound, and the Tatvas that I may have to explain are the same as those of the Lokayatas. Among the Pramanas (Instruments of knowledge), Pratyaksha (perception) is the one admissible; even Anumana (inference) is to be rejected. That which exists in the present, and that which we enjoy in this present life are the only two states of existence; that there is another life and the enjoyment of the result of our deeds in it, are both of them false".⁷⁵

After listening to this discourse of Bhutavadi, the heroine laughed in scorn at Bhutavadi's arguments.

The text also speaks of Brihaspati as the founder of Lokayata.⁷⁶ It also says that this system is based on Pramana abhasas, those that resemble instruments of knowledge. They are (1) knowledge by direct contact, by which we learn the existence of all that exists; (2) mistaken conception, such as taking the mother of pearl for silver; (3) doubt, remaining unsettled whether that which appears before the eye is a stump of wood or a man; (4) deciding without conviction, as in mistaking a stump of wood for a man; (5) not understanding even on seeing, such as not understanding a creature to be a tiger even after seeing it prowling near; (6) asserting as existent that which does not exist, as in speaking of the horns of a rabbit understandable only by the use of the expression, and not by actual existence of the thing connoted by the word; (7) feeling that which is plainly felt by experience, such as attempting to prove that fire is destructive of mist, and (8) perception by assumption, such as taking a couple to be one's father and mother on the statement of others.⁷⁷

Of course, the text is written by Sattanar who is a Buddhist by conviction.⁷⁸ We infer from this, that according to this Buddhist in Southern India, Lokayata is founded on false instruments of knowledge.

This text is important in another direction. It shows the penetration of these materialist ideas into the southern part of India, and their existence side by side with other systems of Indian Philosophy.⁷⁹

In the Milinda, the word is used signifying "wordy disputations and wrangling quibbles".⁸⁰ It is also used for a branch of knowledge.⁸¹

In the Harsha Charita the Lokayatikas are classed as heretics.⁸²

Santaraksita and Kamala Sila of about 8th century A.D. refer to Lokayatas-Kambalasvatara⁸³ and Purandara.⁸⁴

Bhagawadgita, an eclectic work refers to Lokayata almost in abusive virulent terms.⁸⁵

In the works of the fourteenth century and later⁸⁶ the Lokayata system is fathered on Charvaka.

Most these reference to Lokayata are made by those who are opposed to that doctrine. They dealt with it only so far as is necessary to contrast their own position.

B

This brief history of the word Lokayata, even though culled from various opposition schools throws some light on the growth and development of this thought. The word Lokayata meant variously at various periods.

About 600 B.C. the word Lokayata was used in a complimentary way as the name of a branch of Brahmin learning and probably meant nature-lore—Wise sayings, riddles, rhymes, and theories handed down by tradition, as of cosmogony, of elementary physics, even of anatomy, and knowledge of the nature of precious stones, and of birds, beasts and plants. To be a master of such lore was then considered by no means unbecoming to a learned Brahmin though it ranked, of course, below his other studies,⁸⁷

This view of Lokayata, meaning "nature-lore" is contradicted by Tucci.⁸⁸ Tucci does not take into consideration the developmental view of the word "Lokayata". Nor could he explain why a Brahman should be versed in Lokayata, if it only meant, "materialism". Another writer Raja Krishna Mukhopadhyaya also takes a logical view of the meaning of Lokayata like Tucci. He says that Lokayata asserts that this world, or Loka, is.⁸⁹ No one denies these possible meanings of Lokayata. What they forgot was the historical context of the use of the word.

These speculations of nature-lore—(this is what Lokayata meant at this period) supplied a basis for upanishadic cosmological speculations. Emphasis was placed on the physical side and on elements that comprised the universe.⁹⁰

As the amount of this knowledge grew larger, and several branches of natural science were regularly studied, an exclusive acquaintance with Lokayata became looked upon with disfavour. Because it was tending to emphasise more and more the physical, material side of things.

In the Buddhist literature the word is used as a synonym for sophists—useless disputants. The change can be explained by the fact that Lokayatas tended to emphasise more and more the material aspects of knowledge which undermined Brahmanic and equally Buddhistic, Jaina speculations.

In the first half of the eighth century A.D. Kumarila uses the word as a more term of abuse and in the sense of infidel. Sankara uses it for atheism.

In the fourteenth century Sayana Madhava ascribes to the Lokayatikas the most extreme forms of the (let-us-eat-and-drink-for-tomorrow-we-die) view of life; of Pyrrhonism in philosophy, and of atheism in theology.

This change on the part of the subjective estimates of the opposition writers is due to the change in the objective content of Lokayatika itself. Lokayata of 600 B.C. is not the same as Lokayata of 14th century A.D. In 6th century B.C. it took the form of naturalism. In the Upanishadic period it took the form of cosmological speculations, emphasising "elements". In the pre-Buddhist period, it took the form of a violent controversy, against theism. No

wonder, it was characterised as "Violent disputation".⁹¹ In the early Christian Era, when Brahmanism triumphed, it took the form of direct atheism. In the fourteenth century when the social order, which now obtains in India, got fully stratified, it took the form of direct materialism. Most writers do not emphasise this aspect of the change in the objective content of Lokayata. They imbibed most of the prejudices of the opposition writers.

What evidence is there to show that there are such changes in the objective content of Lokayata? There is evidence to show that Lokayata passed through five distinct stages of development in the course of their evolution.

1. In the initial stage they were pure at heart, blameless in action and free from all conventions, having neither virtue nor vice. This may correspond to the nature-love emphasised by Lokayata at this time.
2. In the second stage they developed a spirit of intolerance and opposition, accepting the authority of none, yet having no positive problem of their own to solve.⁹² This may correspond to the anti-Vedic or anti-Brahmanic movement of the day.
3. The third stage revealed some positive theories—
Svabhavavadha,⁹³ recognition of perception as a source of knowledge.⁹⁴ This corresponds to the ontological arguments of the Lokayatas. Their positive theory of knowledge is revealed here for the first time. It is said that they are called Lokayata at this stage. It is difficult to sustain this view.
4. In the fourth stage an extreme form of hedonism formed the most important form of this school. Two reasons might be advanced for such an extreme form. One is the increasing influence of Brahmanism. The other is the corruption of the original ideas of Lokayata. Both contributed to the hedonistic character of Lokayata at this stage. It is said that they got the designation of Charvaka at this stage. Extreme assertions of the Brahmins provoked extreme doctrines of Lokayata. Extreme doctrines of Lokayata created in turn virulent criticisms of the Lokayata. This was responsible for the emergence of various schools of Lokayata. Of course,

corruption also is another factor. Gunaratna of 14th century A.D. speaks of Dhurtta and Susiksita Charvakas.⁹⁵ The Dhurtta Charvakas held that there was nothing but the four elements of earth, water, air, and fire and that the body was but the result of atomic combination. The Susiksita Charvakas held that there was a soul apart from the body but that it also was destroyed with the destruction of the body. At this stage, they even accepted inference, though in a restricted sense, as a source of knowledge⁹⁶ and did not deny the existence of ether as a fifth element.⁹⁷ This shows how the traditional treatment of Lokayata is wrong. The dynamics of time and space are forgotten.

5. In the fifth stage, the stage when Madhava recounts these Lokayatas, they are lumped together under one name Lokayata. It is at this stage that the Brahmanic writers delight in discrediting Lokayata beyond moderation.⁹⁸ These changes attest to the change in the objective content of Lokayata. What led to these changes, and what is the social composition of the writers, the subject—objects of these changes—we cannot say definitely.

If this historical view is accepted, there is no danger of translating the word Lokayatika as "Materialism," because the word "Materialism" in western thought too, meant variously at various times. The materialism of Bacon is different from that of Hobbes. "Hobbes shattered the theistic prejudices of Baconian "materialism". Dodwall, Coward, Hartley, Priestly similarly shattered the last theological bars that still hemmed in Locke's sensationalism".⁹⁹ What indeed is agnosticism but, to use expressive Lancashire term, "shamefaced" materialism?¹⁰⁰ Again English materialism is different from French materialism, although Bacon, Hobbes, and Locke are the fathers of French materialism.¹⁰¹ The French materialists did not limit their criticism to matters of religious belief. They extended it to whatever scientific tradition or political institution they met with. Again the materialism of Feurbach and Spinoza differ from that of Dialectic materialism.¹⁰² This clearly shows that even in the West "materialism" meant differently at different times.

Therefore, there is no danger of translating the word "Lokayata" into "materialism" if we do not lose sight of historical sense. All

writers on Lokayatika, whether they are aware of the developmental view or not, use it in the sense of Materialism. Brihaspati,¹⁰³ Kautalya,¹⁰⁴ Vatsyayana,¹⁰⁵ Haribhadra Suri,¹⁰⁶ Abhiddha-Kama,¹⁰⁷ Santa Rakshita,¹⁰⁸ Sankara,¹⁰⁹ Vachaspati Misra,¹¹⁰ Bhaskara,¹¹¹ Krishna Misra,¹¹² Gunaratna,¹¹³ Nilakanta Madhusudhana,¹¹⁴ and Madhavacharya¹¹⁵ all use the word Lokayata in the sense of a materialist school of philosophy.

III

FOUNDER AND TEACHERS OF LOKAYATA

Max Mueller presents Charvaka as a teacher of Lokayata. He is regarded as an historical individual to whom Brihaspati delivered his doctrine. Bala Sastrin applies the term as a synonym for Buddha. The doctrines of Buddha would be called sceptical and atheistical by the Brahmins. Charvaka and Nastika are the names freely applied to the Buddhists by the Brahmins. Still we know that the doctrines of Charvakas go far beyond Buddhism¹¹⁶ Radhakrishnan and Macdonell¹¹⁷ hold that Charvaka is the name of the founder of the Lokayata System. Das Gupta¹¹⁸ explains the word Charvaka in a different way. He says that Charvaka is not an historical individual. The Lokayatikas were called Charvakas because they would only eat ("carv" to eat) but would not accept any religious or moral responsibility. Poussin¹¹⁹ mentions Charvaka as the reputed founder of the sect. Barua holds that later Sanskrit works ascribe materialistic utterances to a mythical figure to whom they give the name of Charvaka.¹²⁰

All these writers describe Charvaka variously. Some doubt his historicity. Some name him as a teacher. Some cite him as a founder. Some believe him to be a mythical figure.

Who is Charvaka? Before answering this question, let us examine who Brihaspati is, as some light is thrown on Charvaka.

According to Max Mueller, the doctrines of out and out materialists or sensualists are found in the Sutras of Brihaspati.¹²¹ Both Macdonell¹²² and Barua¹²³ think that Brihaspati is a mythical founder of Charvaka or Lokayata system. Das Gupta holds the view that

the original work of Charvakas was written in Sutras probably by Brihaspati.¹²⁴ Hence Charvaka system is called Barhaspatiya. Radhakrishnan thinks that the classic authority on the materialist theory is the Sutras of Brihaspati.¹²⁵ In later Sanskrit, a Brihaspatiya or a follower of Brihaspati has come to mean an infidel in general.¹²⁶ Belvalkar regards Brihaspati as the first founder of Brihaspatiya.¹²⁷

Kamala Sila, Gunaratna, Jayanta, Bhaskaracharya,¹²⁸ Nilakantha, Madhusudhana¹²⁹ quote Brihaspatiya Sutras as belonging to the Lokayata school of philosophy. Krishna Misra writes that Brihaspati handed the system of Lokayata school to Charvaka.¹³⁰ Soma Deva Suri and his commentator Sulasagara Suri ascribe the Lokayata system to Brihaspati.¹³¹ Madhavacharya holds Brihaspati as the author of Lokayata school.¹³² Kaviraj ascribes this system to Brihaspati.¹³³ We find a Brihaspati Laukya in a hymn of the Rig Veda.¹³⁴ The Maitrayana Upanishad speaks of Brihaspati bringing forth a false knowledge—referring to Lokayata.¹³⁵

On account of the close resemblance between Ajita's teachings and the Lokayata, some come to the conclusion that Ajita is the founder of Lokayata. Barua doubts whether there is any good ground for ascribing the so called charvaka philosophy to Brihaspati.¹³⁶ This view contradicts the well known traditional view that Brihaspati is the founder of Lokayata system. Tucci after a close examination accepts the traditional view.¹³⁷ Ajita is a contemporary of Buddha.¹³⁸ That Brihaspati is the founder of Lokayata is mentioned in literature earlier than Ajita. Hence Ajita cannot be the founder of Lokayata. He may be, as Hara Prasad Sastri says, one of the Chief expounders of Lokayata. Or, as Bhattacharya puts it, he may be one of the earliest writers of Lokayata.

From all this contemporary and modern evidence we can conclude that Brihaspati is the founder of Lokayata System, and not Charvaka as Poussin and Macdonell think. His disciple and propagandist is Charvaka. Hence Lokayata is also known as Charvaka System. Lokayatika, Charvaka, Brihaspatiya mean the same. Brihaspati the founder and Charvaka the disciple are responsible for the system of Lokayata. As these names are associated with propagation of Lokayata, it is also called Brihaspatiya and Charvaka. Charvaka is one of the ablest teachers of Lokayata. But a teacher

is not to be confused with a founder. Brihaspati is the founder. Charvaka is the teacher, one among many, *primus inter others*.

But a certain confusion is caused by the indiscriminate use of the words "Brihaspatiya" and "Charvaka" by Sanskrit writers. No wonder, Max Mueller calls Brihaspati "a very perplexing character".¹³⁹

Hemachandra distinguishes between Brihaspatiya or Nastika, and Charvaka or Lokayatika. He does not tell us which he considers the exact points on which the two are supposed to have differed.¹⁴⁰ The Brahmins have an inveterate habit of lumping all systems of thought opposed to their own as heretical. The doctrines of Buddha were called sceptical and atheistical by the Brhamins. Charvakas and Nastikas are names freely supplied to the Buddhists.¹⁴¹ Such a habit of lumping together all systems, other than Brahmanic, as Charvaka and Nastika, no doubt creates confusion. The Buddhists, Jainas, Sankhya and Vaiseshika—all do not believe in personal God. Yet Lokayata although atheistic is distinct from all these schools. A system cannot be considered as Lokayata on account of its mere atheistic character. The Lokayata system differs from them in their theories of knowledge, in their methods, in their doctrines. Atheism is not the peculiar characteristic of the Lokayata School.

The word Nastika¹⁴² is again freely applied to the Buddhists and Lokayata by the Brahmin writers. The word "Nastika" is given the Lokayatikas who say "no" to everything except the evidence of the senses, particularly to the evidence of the Vedas.¹⁴³ The word "Astika" is given to those who admit the authority of the Vedas. Nastikas denied the existence of anything transcendent, of anything beyond bodily senses, of anything divine. The Nastika schools are six in number—Charvaka, Madhyamika, Yogachara, Sautrantika, Baibhashika, and Jaina.¹⁴⁴ The word "Nastika" is not only given to dissenters but also to Nihilists.¹⁴⁵ Sankhya, Vaiseshika, Mimamsakas—all are classed as Astika, although they did not believe in a personal God, because they did not quite deny the authority of the Vedas. According to the Brahmanical schools of thought any denial on the part of a bold speculator of the authority of the Vedas was sufficient to earn for him the name of the Nastika.¹⁴⁶ Hence all Charvakas are Nastikas, but all Nastikas are

not Charvakas. The Buddhists and the Jainas are not Charvakas but they are Nastikas. Charvakas are atheists but not all atheists are Charvakas.

Another confusion is to be cleared about the indiscriminate use of the word "Brihaspatiya" by Brahmin writers. There are several Brihaspatis. Which Brihaspati is the founder of Lokayata? It is said that there are two Brihaspatis in connection with Lokayata. The doctrines of Lokayata are known before Brihaspati formulated them in the Sutra form.

The word Sutra implies that it was meant to compress a large amount of matter within a short compass so that it might not be a burden on the memory. The main object of the Sutras is to supply a short survey of scattered details.¹⁴⁷ Unless a thing had become very large there would have been no necessity for embodying it into Sutras. But such a growth must have required a great length of time.¹⁴⁸ So the actual founder of the system of philosophy cannot be the Sutrakara of the system.

It is impossible for one Brihaspati of one age to be the original creator of the Lokayata System and the composer of the Sutra work belonging to that school. They are undoubtedly different persons flourishing in different ages. Probably the truth is that one Brihaspati formed philosophical conceptions of the Lokayata in a remote period of the literary history of India when perhaps even the system of writing was unknown, and another Brihaspati of the same school systematised those conceptions. Different persons of the same name are not rare in Indian history. Historians tell us that there were more than one Buddha, more than one Vyasa, more than one Sankara and more than one Kalidasa in the field of Sanskrit Literature. So it may not be improbable that there is more than one Brihaspati of the same Lokayata school.

The confusion is not yet cleared. Sometimes the Brihaspatis of other schools are confused with the Brihaspatis of Lokayata. Artha Sastra, a work on Politics, is ascribed to Brihaspati.¹⁴⁹ One school contends that Brihaspati of Politics is the same as Brihaspati of Lokayata.¹⁵⁰ The other view is that the two are different. Lokayata precedes Artha Sastra (Politics) in point of time.¹⁵¹ The Brihaspati of Politics is a theist. The Brihaspati of Lokayata is an atheist. For these reasons the Brihaspati of Artha Sastra is different from the

Brihaspati of Lokayata. Whenever we meet the word "Brihaspatiya" in Indian Literature we have to understand it in its context. It may mean "Political Science" or "Materialism."

The Kapilakas are also confused with Lokayatas. In the old works, the Lokayatikas are mentioned as a sect distinct from the Kapilakas. But in the later works, Gunaratna, a fourteenth century commentator identifies the Kapilakas with the Lokayatikas.¹⁵² We can account for this early distinction and later identification. There are certain resemblances between the Lokayata and the Kapilakas. The later commentators emphasised more the resemblances rather than differences. The aim of Kapilakas is to attain sensuous pleasure. They maintain that a state of salvation in which there is no sense of pleasure should not be aimed at.¹⁵³ Exactly the same is attributed to Lokayats by the author of Naishada.¹⁵⁴ The Kapilakas agree with Lokayats in anti-Vedic practices. They agree in licentiousness. They have common annual festivals. They are the heretics condemned by the orthodox schools. Here the resemblances cease. The difference between the Kapilakas and Lokayats lies in the means and not in the end. The Lokayats do not practice magic. They are not phallous-bearers. They do not smear their bodies with ashes.

Later Lokayata became corrupt like all later religions and systems of thought in India. In its later form it became identified with Kapilakas, Kapilakas at this stage were grossly sensual.

This was accentuated by the indiscriminate way the Brahmin writers used these terms to discredit these anti-Vedic movements. In spite of this false identification, both are different systems.

The Lokayatas are also confused with Tantrikas. Here also the identification is made partly on superficial grounds of resemblance and mostly on account of the habit of Brahmin writers to discredit the anti-Vedic movements and to brand them all as one. The Tantrikas sanctioned and adopted the popular doctrines regarding indulgence. They paid no heed to castes. Here the resemblances with the Lokayats cease. The Tantrikas admit the authority of the Vedas, the Lokayats do not. The Tantrikas admit Karma, the Lokayats do not. The Tantrikas acknowledge the existence of five primary elements of the universe, the Lokayats acknowledge only four and reject "ether" as a fifth element of the universe. The

end of a Tantrika is to attain full control over his passions, to attain final liberation through means of sensual pleasures, the end of Lokayata is physical freedom itself, although Brahmin writers call it "Hedonism".¹⁵⁵

Again the word is used indiscriminately for Svabhavika Bhutavada¹⁵⁶ and Icchantika. Such an indiscriminate use of the word Lokayata by the Brahmins is not accidental. It is deliberately done to discredit the views of the opponents and to create confusion among them. This is amply born by the history of Brahmanism in India.¹⁵⁷

If we bear in mind the exceptions noted above, it is clear that Lokayata, Charvaka, and Brihaspati (Earlier one) mean the same thing. They mean broadly "materialism."

The next question to consider is whether Brihaspati, Charvaka are mythical persons or historical individuals. It is not incorrect to assume in spite of meagre evidence that both Brihaspati and Charvaka are historical individuals.¹⁵⁸

In conclusion we may state that the earlier Brihaspati is the founder of Lokayata. The later Brihaspati is a systematiser of Lokayata in Sutra form. Both are historical individuals. These are different from later Brihaspati of Artha Sastra. Charvaka is the foremost disciple of earlier Brihaspati.¹⁵⁹ He too is an historical individual. Ajita is another who expounded these doctrines on a different plane.

IV

IS LOKAYATA "A SYSTEM" or A MERE TENDENCY or AN OPINION OF A FEW INDIVIDUAL WRITERS ?

Poussin is not convinced that a materialistic "School" - a system — in the exact sense of the word existed¹⁶⁰ Garbe¹⁶¹ also remarks that materialistic doctrines have never gained any important place in the literature of India. Rhys Davids writes that there is no trace of the real existence of a school of philosophy that called itself by the name of Lokayata.¹⁶² This view is challenged by

Bendall.¹⁶³ Poussin agrees with Bendall.¹⁶⁴ What Poussin denies is the "systematic" or "school" character of Lokayata. He does not deny the traces of the existence of Lokayata in Indian Literature. Both Poussin and Garbe are wrong in their opinions.

Lokayata as a system not only existed in India, but all opposition writers understood it as a system down to 14th century A.D. Lokayata gained an important place in the literature of India in spite of tremendous opposition both by Buddhists, Jains and Brahmins.

The Mantra period of the Rig Veda speaks of one Brihaspati Laukya. Anti-Vedic doctrines are not altogether wanting in the Vedas.¹⁶⁵ The name Lokayata occurs in Panini's *Ukthadigana*.¹⁶⁶ Kambalasvatara is one of the earliest exponents of Lokayata and identified with Ajita.¹⁶⁷ Kautalya in his *Artha Sastra* mentions Lokayata along with Sankhya and yoga.¹⁶⁸ Vatsyayana and Brihaspati of *Artha Sastra* refer to this as developed. All these writers before the Christian era refer to Lokayata as an important system of Indian philosophy. We do not have to cite the writers who flourished after the Christian Era and who also referred to Lokayata as a system. All these writers belong to the opposition school. If the Lokayata system did not gain an important place, the opposition writers would not have cared to cite and criticise it. From the numerous references to Lokayata School in orthodox as well as in non-orthodox works, Blevalkar writes that the doctrine of Lokayata is more than a mere tendency and that it early developed into an orderly system of thinking.¹⁶⁹

The importance that Lokayata assumes in Indian Literature can also be noted by references to it in orthodox Literature after the Christian Era. Aryadeva, Sankara, Gunaratna, Jayanta, Kamala Sila, Santa Rakshita, Vachaspati Misra, Bhaskara, Madhava, Varada Raji, Nilakantha, Madhusudhana all quote sutras from the works of Lokayata school. The views of the Lokayatikas are also found in *Tattvatika*, in *Kama-Sutra*, in the *Ramayana*,¹⁷⁰ in the *Mahabharata*,¹⁷¹ in *Vishnu*,¹⁷² and *Padma*,¹⁷³ *Puranasa*, in *Saddarsana Samuchchaya*, in *Tattva Samgraha*, in *Prabodhachandordaya*, in *Naishada Charitra*,¹⁷⁴ and in *Sarva Darsana Samgraha*. In Buddhist works like *Samana Phalasutia*,¹⁷⁵ and *Payasi Suttanta*¹⁷⁶ there is a discussion of this system. The *Jaina*¹⁷⁷ and *Tamil*¹⁷⁸ literatures also mention this system.

From all this evidence, we are entitled to conclude that the Lokayata system is not a mere tendency, nor an opinion of individual writers ; that it is understood in India as a system of materialist thought; and that it has gained a very important place in the literature of India. But one condition is to be noted. Not all the writers referred to Lokayata or Charvaka by name. They referred to the content of Lokayata rather than to the name of the founder. Even this allowance should not lead Garbe to think that Lokayata did not gain importance in the literature of India.

V

TEXTS OF LOKAYATA

Two authorities¹⁷⁹ bear witness to the former existence of text books of materialism, namely the Bhaguri and the Sutras of Brihaspati.

The original works of the system are now lost.¹⁸⁰ No book of the Lokayata system is now available. All that we know of Lokayata is from the works of the opponents of the school. Lokayata underwent much exaggeration and caricature in the hands of its opponents. In later Indian thought it has come in for a good deal of severe and contemptuous treatment.¹⁸¹

The absence of texts and the exaggeration of the opposition writers should not deter us from giving up any attempt at systematic reconstruction of Lokayata philosophy. Tucci writes; "It is well known that no Lokayata text has come down to us ... But to assume from this — that Lokayata texts never existed means to go too far..."¹⁸²

References to the followers of materialism are found in the oldest works of Indian Literature under the name of "heretics". Germs of it are found in the hymns of Rig Veda.¹⁸³ It is certain that they have always existed, although in a minority, side by side with the adherents of the orthodox creed.¹⁸⁴ Materialism as a philosophy is known to be based on the authority of the aphorisms of Brihaspati, and the teachings of Charvaka, after whose name it is also called the school of Charvaka. The materialists are also called

the Lokayatikas, from the Sanskrit "Lokayat", which means -that directed to the world of sense, of "materialism", neither the work of Brihaspati nor the teachings of Charvaka are available to us directly. One source, Bhaskaracharya attests the quondam existence of a text book of materialism in Brahma Sutra.¹⁸⁵ Another Vedantic teacher Sadananda¹⁸⁶ speaks of four materialistic schools, which are distinguished from one another by their conception of the soul. According to the first, the soul is identical with the gross body; according to the second, with the senses; according to the third, with the breath; and according to the fourth with the organ of thought or the internal sense. These are the four schools of materialistic thought according to Sadananda. Garbe explains that in reality, no difference in point of Principle exists between these four views. For the senses, the breath, and the internal organ are really only attributed or parts of the body.¹⁸⁷ His explanation is correct. But he infers from it that no different phases of Indian materialism are to be thought of.¹⁸⁸ This inference is questionable. Jayanta speaks of two schools of thought in later literature — the Dhurttā and Susikṣita. The Dhurttā Charvakas held that there was nothing but the four elements of earth, water, air, and fire; and that the body was but the result of atomic combination. There was no self or soul, no virtue or vice. The Susikṣita Charvakas hold that there was a soul apart from the body but that it also was destroyed with the destruction of the body.¹⁸⁹ Although we hear of two schools of thought. Here too, there is no difference in principle. Unfortunately we have not enough data regarding the places in which these schools flourished and the social composition of the writers. In spite of this, tradition still speaks of various phases of Hindu materialism.

Further indirect references to materialism are numerous. The texts are freely referred to in the paper. It is not necessary to cite them here. Since outside these indirect reference materialism does not find a literary expression, it is only through the polemical works of opposition systems and the first chapter of Sarvadarsana-Samgraha of Madhava¹⁹⁰ that we indirectly know the doctrines of this school of thought.

VI

THE DATE OF LOKAYATA

We are confronted in Indian History with the perennial difficulty of assigning dates of events of individuals. Because Brahmins, one of the ruling and dominant classes in India, systematically sabotaged history - writing.¹⁹¹ They substituted myth-making to history-writing. Consequently, what we understand by "historical sources" are to be sought elsewhere, in inscriptions, accounts of foreign visitors, opposition writers and so on. Much has been done recently in connection with the fixing of dates. Much revaluation has taken place with each discovery - like Mahenjodaro and Harappa excavation. With all this research we are yet not positive so far as dates are concerned in Indian history.

In one sense Lokayata-ideas relating to wordly affairs - dates from Rig Veda. As early as the Rig Veda, we find mention of people who denied the existence of Indra.¹⁹² The celebrated hymn on frogs which ridicules the chantings of Brahmins during ceremonies, to the croakings of frogs in autumn attests to the existence of a protestant thought.¹⁹³

In the Brahmanas the question is sometimes asked if there really is another life.¹⁹⁴ The old scholiast Yaska found himself to refuse a teacher who pronounced the Veda to be a tissue of nonsense.¹⁹⁵ These sceptics had a goodly number of adherents. The most ancient designation we find applied to them is that of Nastika (a derivative of nasti, not est) "those who deny".¹⁹⁶ Barth says they even formed associations of their own.¹⁹⁷

At this stage materialist thought in India is to be understood as "a protestant thought" against Vedic religion. Sometimes during this period, the movement is known as "Anti-Vedic" movement. It refused to recognise as the source of creation, a first cause other and higher than the mere working out of the forces and tendencies inherent in matter, unsupervised by any non-material power of principle like the Atman or Deity. As a consequence it recognised for

the human being no goal higher than good life.¹⁹⁸ It rejected the supremacy of Vedic gods. It rejected the authority of Vedas. It rejected the cosmogony of Vedas.¹⁹⁹ Above all it attacked priesthood and its economic foundations.²⁰⁰ At this stage of social and religious development in India Lokayata may be regarded as a tendency of thought.²⁰¹ This early tendency of thought dates from about 1200 B.C. - 1000 B.C.²⁰²

But from a mere tendency it can develop into a regular system of thought. It did in connection with Hindu Materialism in Brihaspati and Charvaka. (It did in connection with Hindu Materialism in Brihaspati and Charvaka.) The great scholar Bhandarkar writes - "No fact is plainer in the history of Sanskrit literature than this - that the body of notions embodied under each sastra (Science) was not conceived at once by the Chief Writer on the subject, but that before they were put into that shape, they had gone through a process of growth and development."²⁰³

This is amply illustrated by the distance of popular ideas of materialism in India, before Brihaspati formulated them into a coherent doctrine.²⁰⁴

To what dates can we then assign Brihaspati and Charvaka?

The time in which the school of Lokayata flourished cannot rightly be discovered.²⁰⁵ Radhakrishnan assigns the school to 6th century B.C.²⁰⁶ P.D. Shastri assigns the school to about the same age.²⁰⁷ Max Mueller assigns Brihaspati philosophy, meaning Lokayata, to 500 B.C.²⁰⁸ But Macdonell assigns Kapila to the times before the middle of 6th century B.C.²⁰⁹ Lokayata, both as a tendency and a system of thought, flourished before Kapila. As a tendency, we noted, it existed toward the end of the composition of the Vedas. As a system it is anterior to Kapila, anterior to post-Upanishadic thinkers, because Ajita of this period is the direct continuation of Charvaka, and contemporaneous with, and slightly prior to Upanishadic speculations.²¹⁰ In this case the date of Brihaspati may be assigned to about the beginning of Upanishadic compositions. Max Mueller dates the Upanishad period from about 700 B.C.²¹¹ Radhakrishnan assigns 6th century B.C. for the composition of the Upanishads. The accepted dates for early Upanishads are 1000 B.C. to 300 B.C.²¹² The later Upanishads are assigned to about 400 or 300 B.C.²¹³ The Maitrayani Upanishad is a later one.²¹⁴

This text mentions Lokayata as "a false science of Brihaspati". If this testimony is to be relied upon, it can be inferred that Brihaspati is known to these writers round about 400 to 300 B.C. This science might even exist before the time of Maitrayani. The coexistence of contrary beliefs is not peculiar to India.²¹⁵

The other Upanishads also mention this episode of Brihaspati giving false instruction to the Asuras (demons).²¹⁶ In the Chandogya Upanishad it is Prajapati himself who imparts false knowledge of the Atman to Asuras, while in the Maitrayana Upanishad Brihaspati takes his place. It is not unlikely that Brihaspati was introduced in the later Upanishad in order to take the place of Prajapati because it was felt to be wrong that this highest deity should ever have misled anybody, even to the demons. This again confirms the view that the date of Brihaspati may be assigned to about the beginning of Upanishadic compositions.

We have already noted that the tradition relating to Lokayata is anterior to the founder of this system. The tradition belongs to the times of the composition of the Vedas. Brihaspati gathered this tradition in a coherent manner at about the time of the composition of the Upanishads. Prior to him Lokayata had a life growth and struggle. The date of Brihaspati may roughly be fixed around 1000 B.C. - 700 B.C. This Brihaspati, as is shown later, must not be confused with the later Brihaspati who systematised this philosophy and put it in Sutra form. What then is the date of this second Brihaspati? His date must coincide somewhat with the date when Sutra form of literature came into use. Because the Lokayata ideas even as we know from opposition texts, were expressed in Sutras. The opposition writers referred to Brihaspati-Sutras. The sutra form of literature is the third and last stage of Vedic literature.²¹⁷ Research has hitherto failed to arrive at any definite result as to the date of their composition. Macdonell assigns 500 and 200 B.C. as the chronological limits within which the Sutra literature was developed.²¹⁸ Keith rejects the claims of Brihaspati to antiquity.²¹⁹ He also rejects Jacobi's view that Lokayata flourished around 300 B.C.²²⁰ He contends that between the date of the chief Upanishads and the 3rd or 4th century A.D. there proceeded an active stream of philosophical investigation.²²¹ This view will not be inconsistent with ours. If the date of the second Brihaspati who reduced the traditions of the first Brihaspati to Sutra form is around 500 to 300

B.C. This does not conflict with Keith's view. He writes that the philosophical investigation started from about the date of the chief Upanishads. Lokayata did not cease with the second Brihaspati. It had its successor in Charvaka. The date we assign to Charvaka also does not conflict with Keith's view. Philosophical speculations regarding Lokayata have continuous history down to our own days.

To what date can we ascribe Charvaka? Here our evidence is the least satisfactory. The Mahabharata speaks of Charvaka as an ogre or a demon.²²² The date of Mahabharata is uncertain.²²³ Whether the reference of Mahabharata to Lokayata as a contemporary phenomenon, or as a pre-existing tradition, we do not know. We can therefore only guess at the date of Charvaka. If the date of Mahabharata is around pre-Buddhist period we will not be far wrong if we place Charvaka at about a little after the date of second Brihaspati, round about 300 B.C. - 200 B.C. May be he may belong to a later date.²²⁴ We can summarise our main conclusions regarding the question of dates :

- I. Lokayata tradition existed prior to the first Brihaspati during the time of the composition of the Vedas. The date is around 1200-1000 B.C. Here Lokayata took the form of an Anti-Vedic movement.
- II. The founder - systematiser of the tradition is the first Brihaspati. He belongs to about 1000 B.C. - 700 B.C. Here Lokayata combines not only the features of Anti-Vedic movement but also features of Anti-Brahmana, anti-Upanishadic movement.
- III. The systematiser of Lokayats who expressed in a Sutra form is second Brihaspati, who lived around 500 B.C. - 200 B.C. This was a period of great speculations, a period / transition. It needed definition, clarification. Lokayata, like before, existed side by side with other systems contending for mastery, for statehood.
- IV. Charvaka was the latest historical exponent of Lokayata. He was particularly the hated target of Neo-Brahmanical writers. He was represented as an ogre, a hedonist, a sensualist, and a false prophet. He lived around 500 B.C. - 200 B.C., after the second Brihaspati. Further history is to be

sought of Lokayata in the heretics of the Buddhist and Jaina times, in Ajita and others.²²⁵ Haribadhra of the 6th century A.D.,²²⁶ Kumarila of the first half of the 8th century A.D.²²⁷ Sankara of 9th Century A.D.,²²⁸ Krishna Misra of 11th century A.D., Gunaratna of 14th century A.D.,²²⁹ Madhava of 14th century A.D.²³⁰ - all mention Lokayata. In spite of this overwhelming evidence, one cannot share the attempts of Jacobi to explain away the Lokayata philosophy.²³¹

VII

AN OUTLINE OF THE LOKAYATA SYSTEM OF PHILOSOPHY²³²

According to Madhava, the Charvaka system is the lowest from the point of view of Vedanta.²³³ Charvaka is the crest-gem of the atheistical school. He is the follower of Brihaspati. The efforts of Charvaka are hard to be eradicated. The mass of men are found to follow only the doctrine of Charvaka. Hence another name for that school is Lokayata²³⁴ Madhava admits the popularity of this school.

I give below a summary of the Charvaka system as understood by Madhava in his day.

The systems of Indian philosophy generally recognise five primary elements-earth, water, fire, air, and ether. The Lokayata system maintains that the four elements of earth, air, fire and water are the original principles of all things and that they are eternal. It rejects ether as an element because ether cannot be known by perception, which according to it is the only source of knowledge.

The four elements of earth, air, fire, and water, when mixed together in a certain proportion and according to a certain order, become transformed into the organism.

It represents intellect as resulting from a modification of the four elements, when combined and transformed into the human body, in the same way as intoxication is produced by mixing certain ingredients which by themselves are not intoxicating. Our

thinking power is destroyed with dissolution of the elements from whose combination it is evolved.²³⁵

Most systems of philosophy in India maintain that the soul is totally distinct from the body. They never doubt that there is something in man different from the visible body. But according to the Lokayata system there is no soul apart from the body. The soul is only the living principle of all organisms. It exists so long as our body exists, and ceases to exist when the body ceases to exist. It is the body that feels, sees, hears, remembers, and thinks.

The systems of Indian philosophy generally recognise four sources of knowledge-perception, inference, authority, and analogy. The Lokayata system rejects all these sources of knowledge except perception. There is no god, no fate, no world beyond, no final liberation, no recompense for acts good or evil. All these negations are due to the fact that they cannot be perceived, hence cannot be inferred. The rejection of inference as a source of knowledge is a characteristic feature of Lokayata. It bases its rejection of inference on the following reasoning:

"Inference is possible because of universal connection. There would be no general or universal statement if there were no connection between things and things. But how is this universal relation known? It is not known by perception. Perception presupposes actual contact of the object with the perceiving organ and is thus necessarily confined to the present. It is a case of here and now. It does not extend to the past or the future and is thus unable to establish universal connection of things."

Lokayata insists upon universal connection. It rejects testimony as a source of knowledge on the same grounds as it rejects inference as a source of knowledge²³⁶

On the basis of this theory of knowledge, the Lokayats attack religion as being based upon the supernatural. Supernatural is the object of inference. It is not the object of perception. There is no fate, no mysterious universal agency, no karma which might assign happiness or misery according to the merits or demerits acquired in previous existence. All things generate spontaneously according to their respective natures.

The Lokayats reject the authority of the Vedas. They maintain that the Mantra portion of the Vedas can by no means be authoritative. The Mantras in the Vedas do not convey any meaning whatsoever. Some Mantras are ambiguous. Some are absurd. Some are contradictory. Some repeat what is already known. There are discrepancies and contradictions among the other portions of the Vedas. A line of action prescribed by one text is condemned by another. The Vedas speak of results that are never realised. In the Vedas there are proper names and epithets as well as foolish statements like the ravings of a mad-man. The vedas are human not divine compositions. The Lokayats condemned next the sacrifices. They attacked the custom of giving presents to the priests. The exercises of religion and the practices of asceticism are merely a means of livelihood for men devoid of intellect and manliness. The priests say that a beast slain in a sacrifice will itself go to heaven. How is it that they do not kill their own old fathers in a sacrifice in order to send them directly to heaven? All these ceremonies were ordered by the Brahmins as a means for their livelihood. They are worth no better than that. Religion is the invention of individuals desirous to further their own selfish and ambitious motives.

The Lokayats also reject the Smritis and Puranas. An authoritative statement, they claim, does not fall from the skies.

The Lokayata system rejects also all distinctions of caste and creed. The blood of the same red hue runs through the veins of a Brahmin as well as of a Chandala (Untouchable). The appearance of a Chandala is in no way different from that of a Brahmin.

Prosperity is Heaven. There is no particular place named Heaven. By Heaven the Lokayats mean only the enjoyment of pleasure. When once the body is reduced to ashes how can it ever go to another world? As long as we live we ought to live happily, enjoying the pleasures of the senses.²³⁷ Adversity is Hell. There is no Hell other than the worldly troubles produced by purely mundane causes.

The only supreme being is the earthly monarch. His existence is proven before the of all the world. The various phenomena of the world are produced spontaneously from the nature of things there is no supernatural creator-God. The existence of God cannot be proved by perception. All appeals to the authority of the Vedas are useless.

By liberation the Lokayats understand independence or dissolution of the body. They do not understand it in the sense of "Salvation".

To the asceticism of the Brahmins the Lokayats opposed "extreme pleasures". Pleasure is the summum bonum of human life.

These in brief are the main ideas of the later Lokayatas.²³⁸

VIII

WESTERN CONTEMPORARIES

There is a close resemblance between Lokayata and the doctrines of Epicurus (b.c. 341-270).²³⁹ Both the systems agree in identifying Body with Soul. According to Epicurus Soul is a corporeal substance, a compound of atoms of four different species distributed throughout the frame but more densely massed in the breast. Lokayata says almost the same thing.

Epicurus says that all mental pleasures are derived from and related to the bodily pleasures of sense. Pleasure and pain are the sole motives of actions. The Lokayats say the same thing.

The views of Aristippus of Cyrene (435-356 B.C.) have no less a resemblance to the views of Lokayata. According to Aristippus the only good of life is the individual's own pleasure. Present enjoyments should never be sacrificed for the sake of future pleasures, for, what is future is always uncertain. Lokayata maintains the same view.

In spite of these resemblances to Greek Philosophers, the Lokayata school arose independently in India long before Epicurus or Aristippus flourished in Greece.²⁴⁰

IX

AN ESTIMATE OF LOKAYATA

An essential condition for a critical estimate of Lokayata is a full knowledge of the society and its history in all its phases. A sketch of "free thinking" in India is to be sought in the problems of the day²⁴¹. It is the same with agnosticism²⁴² and naturalism. But the independent development of these streams of thought, long divorced from the means of production, should by no means be ignored. Even the independent development of these streams of thought must have had a struggle and growth in accordance with needs and wants. As such a background is not available we must be content with the few following observations.

Materialism, atheistical materialism, of Lokayats is regarded as the basis of hedonism in ancient India.²⁴³ This way of putting it does not bring out the historical context of Lokayata. The so-called hedonism is attributed to Lokayata of a later stage. It is partly due to its corruption and partly due to the exaggeration of opposition writers.

Again it is said that in the Lokayata System we find the combination of the materialistic metaphysics of Democritus and Empedocles with the sensationalism and scepticism of the sophists and the ethical materialism of Aristippus.²⁴⁴ These Characteristics never prevailed in combination at any one time in the history of Lokayata. Prior to 14th century A.D. each characteristic was the product of each historical epoch and the conditions it tackled. We find the combination of all these characteristics at a later stage in the time of Madhava²⁴⁵

The Lokayata system is empirical. It doesn't explain the world as a concrete reality of substance and phenomena²⁴⁶. It explains the world in terms of sensations. It emphasises perception as the only source of knowledge.

The metaphysical doctrine of the Lokayats consists in this. They maintain that the four elements — earth, air, water, fire are

the self existent principles and their permutations and combinations produce an infinite variety of bodies. They do not explain the elements. In this they resemble the eternalists.

The mechanical aspects of Lokayata consist in this. The four elements become transformed into organism when mixed together in certain proportion and order. This complex intermixture of elements in the organism produce our thinking, power in the same way as the mixture of certain ingredients in liquid produces intoxicating power. Thus our soul is the resultant of the intermixture of the material elements. It is only the function of our organism. It exists so long as our body exists, and it ceases to exist when the body also ceases to exist. Death is mere separation of the elements and life the combination of them. It is curious how Lokayats who protested against the mechanical forms of inference, should fall into the same mechanical form of reasoning.

The Lokayats do not deny the existence of evil in this world. They hold that if we use intelligence rightly and properly there will be a balance of pleasure and life would be worth living. They do not hold with Buddha that evil is the very essence of existence. They hold that life can be enjoyed though it is mingled with pain. They do not hold that life is an illusion. They hold that it is a thing which can be enjoyed.

The Lokayats denounce religion as the invention of individuals desirous of deceiving their fellowmen in order to further their own selfish and ambitious views. In this the Lokayatas objectively reflected the nature of religion prevailing in their days.

The Lokayats denounce Vedas as authority. But they quote passages from Upanishads to support their views. If we can rely on Sadananda, he says : "A Charvaka says that the gross body is his self; on account of the text of the Veda (Taittiriya Upanishad 2.1) ... Another Charvaka says that the organs of sense are his self; on account of the text of the Veda (Chandogya Upanishad 2.2.) ... Another Charvaka says that the mind is his self; on account of the text of the Veda (Taittiriya Upanishad 2.3.)"²⁴⁷

The Lokayatas quote these texts not because they are revealed but because they contain statements which support their views. They mean to say to the Brahmins — "Even your revealed texts speak for us."

Like Buddhism which is a new wine poured into old bottles, Lokayata is a new wine poured into old ones. It is the natural born son of India. It is cast in the mould of the country and hence it partakes of the contradictory streams of life in India.

X

INFLUENCE OF LOKAYATA IN INDIA

The Lokayata influenced the Upanishadic thinkers who held in contempt the sacrificial rites of the Vedas. They led to the disappearance of the supremacy of the Vedic Gods. They influenced the atheistic opinions of Kapila, Buddha and Jaimini. Brihaspati, the founder of Lokayata, has his foremost disciple in Charvaka; Charvaka, in Ajita Kesa Kambalin; Ajita in Buddha. Like Feurbach,²⁴⁸ who is the link between Kant-Fichte, Hegel-Marx, Engels, Ajita²⁴⁹ is the link between Brihaspati—Charvaka and Buddha—Mahavira. Buddha's views against the Vedic sacrifice, the memorising of the Vedic mantras, and fruitless repetition to retain them in memory, the caste system, the authority of the Vedas, and the worship of the deities, the magic practices, and against the mortifications and ascetic practices have their counterpart in the views of the Lokayatas. Yet Lokayats went much further than Buddhism. And as Lokayata is undoubtedly prior to Buddhism, it cannot be doubted that Lokayata influenced Buddhism.²⁵⁰

But its influence on orthodox systems must not be minimised. Hinduism today represents the synthesis of Brahmanism and its antitheses—the protestant movements. Hinduism is a seething cauldron. It has devoured all the best of the protestant movements to its dregs. It has become pot-bellied and lop-sided. To its pot-bellied ancestry, the Lokayats are no mean contributors.²⁵¹

APPENDIX I

Kambalasvatara 550-500 B.C.

Santaraksita²⁵² mentions one Kambalasvatara in the Lokayatapariksa.²⁵³ Kambalasvatara is a follower of the Lokayata System. He held the view that consciousness results from the body and disappears with the dissolution of the body. He lived in a very remote age.²⁵⁴ He devoted himself to music. He disbelieved in transmigration of soul or in a future life. The cultivation of pleasure in this life would seem logical and entirely proper. He is one of the earliest writers of the Lokayata system if not the chief propounder. Haraprasad thinks that he is one of the chief propounders of Lokayata. He identifies him with Ajita Kesa Kambalin, a contemporary of Buddha.²⁵⁵ He bases his identification on the ground that their views are similar. They both held the view that consciousness is an outcome of the body and that it disappears with the dissolution of the body. Kesa Kambalin "denied the possibility of rebirth and retribution. The world is just a concourse of four elements, the space being the repository of the senses, the soul being just a chemical product of matter and nothing"²⁵⁶ This is a flimsy ground on which to base their identity. It is quite possible that both are historical individuals who held similar views.²⁵⁷

Is Kambalasvatara prior to Charvaka? The date given above suggests he is prior to Charvaka. We cannot be certain of the dates of early Indian history. We tentatively assigned Charvaka to about 500 B.C-200 B.C. Tradition is strongly in favour of Charvaka being prior to Kambalasvatara. Besides the so-called identification of Kambalasvatara with Ajita seemed to indicate that he is a contemporary of Ajita. We will not be far wrong in assuming that Kambalasvatara is another historical individual who flourished after Charvaka, almost a contemporary of Ajita.²⁵⁸

APPENDIX II

Purandara 700 A.D.

A Charvaka author by name Purandara²⁵⁹ is referred in the Panjika of Kamalasila.²⁶⁰ His views also are refuted in the Karikas of Santaraksita. From the mention of his name by Kamalasila the latest date that can be assigned to him is 700 AD. He may in fact be considerably older, because in the centuries after Christ we meet with no names of Lokayata philosophers, though the system must have been in existence even so late as the time of Madhava, Gunaratna who have criticised their theories in their works. His view is that Charvakas also are prepared to accept inference as a means of right knowledge as it is useful in our daily life. But the mechanical form of inference as proposed by the Buddhists and others can by no means be considered a medium of right knowledge, as it is thoroughly impracticable for daily use.²⁶¹

It will not be out of place if we discuss here why the Lokayats rejected inference in the beginning and accepted it later as a source of knowledge. The explanation is that they were forced to admit it because of the opposition writers. This is not a correct explanation. In the first place Inference as used by Brahmin writers is often quibbled. It is used more with an idea to defeat an opponent by all dialectical sophistry than to convince him. The Lokayata, instead of putting it on a sound basis, rejected it altogether. The way the Lokayats parody inference shows their fears were not without foundation. Brahmanic dialectics is a synonym for idle chatter, endless disputations, sometimes hair splitting arguments.²⁶²

Later' due to the influence of Sankhya, Buddhism and Jainism, Inference came to be freed from dialectics and Charvakas accepted inference. Even while accepting, they protested against mechanical form of inference as Buddhists practised. The later Lokayats emphasised the rational aspects of inference.

So we see the evolution of "inference" in Indian philosophy in three directions. The first is "dialectical" form of inference which is

used by Brahman writers. The second is "mechanical" form of inference which is used by Buddhist writers. The third is "rational" form of inference which is used by later Lokayats. One can now see why Lokayats rejected inference in the earlier stages and accepted it in the later stage. They were not strong enough in the early days to demolish mechanical dialectics.

NOTES

1. Dakshinaranjan Shastri: "Charvaka System" (Indian Materialism), Calcutta, with a Foreword by B.K. Shastri.
2. H. H. Wilson : "A Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus" (in Collected Works, 1862, Vol. I, P. 22) Originally published in Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI, Calcutta, 1828, pp. 1-136 and Vol. XVII, Calcutta, 1832, pp. 169-314.
3. H. T. Colebrook : "Miscellaneous Essays" 1837, Vol. I, p. 402.
4. E. B. Cowell : "The Charvaka System of Philosophy" (in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXI, 1862, p. 371).
5. Madhavacharya : "Sarvadarsana Samgraha" translated by E. B. Cowell and A. C. Gough, 1882, chapter I, pp. 2-11.
6. E. B. Cowell opcit. pp. 371-390 (This was published later as a pamphlet).
7. Cowell, opcit. p. 374.
8. J. Muir : "Indian Materialists" (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, 1862, article XI, pp. 299-320) Muir read the paper on Saturday, 14th December, 1861.
9. E. B. Cowell : "On the Charvaka Sect" (Appendix C in H. T. Colebrook : "Miscellaneous Essays" Vol. I, 1873, Ed. by E. B. Cowell) pp. 456-460.
10. T. W. Rhys Davids : "Dialogues of Buddha", 1899, Oxford, Part 1, pp. 160-172, See pages 14, 110, 139 for Lokayata.
11. Digha Nikaya I-52, 55. Samyutta Nikaya III-307 Majjhima Nikaya I-515 Rhys Davids : "Dialogues of Buddha" pt. I, p. 73.
12. A. Hillebrandt : "Alt-Indien" (Kulturgeschichtliche Skizzen, Brelau, 1899. IX, "Materialism Und Skeptiker," pp. 168-178).
13. Max Mueller : "Six Systems of Indian Philosophy" 1899, pp. 123-137.
14. A. M. Pizzagalli : "Nastika Carvaka e lokayatika" (contributa alla storia del materialismo nell India antica) Pisa, 1907.
15. L. Suali : "Materiaux pour servir a L'histoire du Materialisme Indien" (in Le Museon, Vol. IX, 1908, pp. 277-298).
16. Saddarsana Samuchchaya by Haribhadra (528 A.D.) Ed. by L. Suali, Calcutta, 1905, Bibliotheca Indica, with Gunaratna's Commentary
17. R. Garbe : "Lokayata", (in Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol VIII, 1916, p. 138).
18. De La Valle Poussin : "Indian Materialism" (in Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VIII, 1916, pp. 493-4).
19. See, for a complete bibliography of writers who referred to Materialism casually, in my forthcoming book.
See also J.N. Farquahar : An outline of the Religious Literature of India, Oxford, 1920, p.371 (gives a small bibliography)
In 1923 P. Masson-Oursd also gave a small bibliography, see at the end of "An Outline of Lokayata" for reference.

20. G. Tucci : "Storia del Materialismo Ind" 1923.
21. Those who read Indian journals are familiar with the articles of Tucci and Pizzagalli on a variety of Topics. Pizzagalli has written another work, "Aspetti E problemi Della Cultura Indiana." Milano, 1927. He dealt on another aspect of Hindu materialism in "Sulla Setta Degli Svabhavavadinah" in Reale Istituto lombardo di scienze e Lettere XLVI (1913) 104.
C. Formichi has written other works, *La Pensée Religieuse de L'Inde Avant bouddha*, 1930, and "Asvagosha Poeta del buddhismo," *Hari*, 1912, (For Svabhavikas, see p.231.)
G.B. Botazzi : "Precursori di Vicolo Machiavelli in India ed in Grecia Kautilya, e Thucydide," Pisa, 1914.
C. Formischi : "Pensiero e Azione nell'India Antica" (in rivista Italiana di Sociologia Roma)
C. Formischi : "The Hindus and their Political Science," Bologna, 1899, (In Italian)
22. D. Shastri : "The Lokayatikas and Kapilakas" (in the Indian historical Quarterly edited by N.N. Law, 1931, pp.125-137. An exception is to be made if we take also Chintamani as a writer on Lokayata. T.R. Chintamani : "A Note on the Charvaka System," (in The Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, 1927, Vol. I, pp 387-8)
23. E.B. Cowell : "The Charvaka System of Philosophy," *Opcit*, p.389. The European inquirers consist of four nations-English, French, German, and Italian.
24. See K.Kautsky : "Communism in Central Europe at the time of the Reformation," 1987, p.19. "That knowledge thrives is due not merely to definite previous conditions which scientific investigation first renders possible, but also to certain wants which urge on scientific research."
25. Macaulay's judgement of the literatures of India and Arabia : T.B. Macaulay "Minute on Education," 1834, "I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia" (quoted in E Thompson and G.T. Garrat : "Rise and Fulfilment of British rule in India," 1934, p.661)
26. See A. A. Macdonell : "India's Past," 1927, pp.235-273
27. R Shama Sastry discovered Kautilya's "Artha Sastra," He later translated it into English in 1915.
28. The shifting of the population :
Report of the Royal Commission on labour in India 1931, emp. 3883, p.14 ff.
Ibid, p.270. "During the last 50 years there has been a constant drift into the cities and towns."
Alexander Murray : "Labour," p.291.
The Growth of Towns :
Alexander Murray "Labour," p.291 (in *Modern India*) edited by J Cummings, 1931.
D.G. Gadgil : "The, Industrial Revolution of India," pp.158-172.
The Rise of the Proletariat :
The emergence of the Indian Proletariat may be dated from 1880; Royal Commission on Labour, p.6; Total number of factories 2,451; Average daily number employed 1,166,000.

- R.C. Das : The labour movement in India" 1923, pp.3-6.
 The Poletarisation of the Peasantry ;
 Royal Commission on Labour opcit. p. 14 et eo.
 For the creation of a class of landless labourers, see S.K. Gadgil, "The Industrial revolution of India in recent times," 1924, p. 163.
29. Michael O'Dwyer : "India as I knew it (1885-1925), p.64
 "The Arya Samaj Reform Movement,... which has taken such deep root among the educated Hindus in the Punjab, recognises the (defects) in the Hindu Social system, especially as it is a bar to that political advance that so many of them contemplate.
 30. B.K. Sarkar : "Positive Background of Hindu Sociology" 1914. This work is a good instance of nationalist history-writing, and is the product of national agitation in India on the eve of the break of the World Imperialist war.
 31. H. Dodwell : "A Sketch of the history of india," (1858-1918) 1925, pp.6-7.
 See also E. Thompson and G.T. Garrat : "Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India" 1934, p.541 "By 1884 a new professional class had come into existence."
 32. Royal Commission on Labour opcit. pp.339-341.
 (See the analysis of the class and race composition of the employers and employed, p.340)
 33. Royal Commission on Labour opcit. pp.23-24.
 34. Compare the remarks of F. Engels : "The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844" translated by K.K. Wischnewetzky 1892, pp.2-4 (These aptly apply to the Indian Workers. His remarks of the agricultural proletariat of this period also apply aptly to the agricultural proletariat of India today, pp.5-6)
 For the Indian proletariat see Margaret Read : "The Indian Peasant Up-rooted" 1931 (A graphic summary of the Royal Commission on Labour, 12 volumes).
 35. Like National Front , ' New Indian Literature' and various other papers in Indian languages.
 36. He is a mere victim of Social Economy. See Indian Taxation Enquiry Report, Vol I, pp.363-4 (19128)
 R.Fox : "The Colonial Policy of British Imperialism" 1933, pp. 42-46.
 37. R. Mukerjee : "The limits and potentialities of agriculture : "(in India Analysed Vol. III, p.216)" it is the old conflict between the urban industrialist and the rural classes in which the former is gaining the upper hand
 Vera Anstey : "The Economic development of India," 1929, p.159.
 V.E.L. Price : "Indian Legislature Economics," 1921, p.4.
 V.H.L. Calvert : "Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab" P. IV.
 38. Compare the political defeats of the German middle class of 1848 and their apparent commercial successes with that of the Indian middle classes. The parallel is interesting. See F. Engels: "Revolution and Counter-Revolution," 1933, pp.12-13.
 39. Engels : "Revolution and Counter-Revolution" 1933, pp.25-26. Cf. The German middle class of 1848. "They sought to obtain by every possible means the support of the working class of the towns, and of the peas-

antry and it is well known that there was hardly a single prominent political character who did not proclaim himself a Socialist.' The same is true with the Indian National Congress which adopted an outward show of Socialism to meet the demands of the proletariat and the peasantry.

40. K. Kautsky : "Communism in Central Europe," p.19. "Not every Community and Social Class feels the need for deeper investigation into the real connection between things in nature and society even if the necessary previous conditions are present." Only that class whose interests need such deep investigation feels that necessity. See J.S. Huxley : "Science and Social Needs."
41. Blanqui wrote : "The social question cannot be earnestly and effectively discussed till after the next energetic and irrevocable solution of the political question." Quoted in B. Bax, p.260.
42. B.C. Law : "A Short Account of the Wandering Teachers" (in Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1918, Vol. 14. New Series pp.402-402)
B. Barua : "Pre-Buddhistic Philosophy" p.339, "Kama and Artha are ways of life-Lokatra." Kautalya : "Artha Sastra" I, 1.
43. Max Mueller : "A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature" 1860, pp.18-25. He familiarised the idea of the other-worldliness of Hindus. But he admits (p.25) that later Aryans came to be aware of the external world around them.
44. Tucci opcit. p.35.
Other Italian writers like Botazzi and Formichi also repudiate the other worldliness of Hindus. See B.K. Sarkar : 'Positive Background of Hindu Sociology' p. 185 ff. "Not all Hindu literature addresses itself to renunciation and mysticism and that human energism as well as utilitarianism have had powerful exponents in Hindu Philosophy." "Hindu Materialism is exhibited in Religion, logic, metaphysics and ethics." (These quotations are from Formichi) Botazzi also holds similar views refuting Chiapelli who thinks that the Oriental is used neither to science, nor to art, nor to liberty.
45. Garbe : "Indian Philosophy" opcit. p.85
46. According to Vishnu and other Puranas (Histories), the Kshatriya race came to an end with Maha Padma, the last Kshatriya king, and after him, "the kings of the Earth were of Sudra origin." - Vishnu Purana IV, 24. Chandragupta is regarded as a Sudra (4th caste). (See Cambridge history of India, Vol.1, p.470, and follow the references.) See also Shama Sastry : "Evolution of Indian polity," p. 14.
47. Like that of Lingayata : or Reddis, in the modern period.
48. R.K. Das : "The Labour Movement in India," 1923, pp.14.17 Lokhanday organised "Bombay Mill Hands Association" in 1890. He organised a paper "Dinabandhu" (Friend of the Poor). This was the first labour journal in India.
49. Cf. Marx and Engels : "Die Heilige Familie," Frankfurt, A.M. 1845, pp.201-204, quoted in Engels "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Introduction." p. 13 : Where they say Materialism is the natural born son of Great Britain.
50. Cf. F.A. Lange : "The History of Materialism," 1925 Edition, p.3.
51. Cf. F.A. Lange, opcit. p.3-4.
At all stages, materialism in India was an open and immediate attack on Brahminic religion.
Cf. Ibid. Second Book, fourth section, p.292.

For Cosmologies of the Vedas :

P.S. Deshmukh : "Religion in Vedic Literature," 1933, 325-331.

Priests :

Rig Veda, I, 126, 1-3 (Dana Stuti gift-laud).

For Sacrifices :

See A.C. Clayton : "The Rig Veda and Vedic Religion" 1913, pp.104-136.

52. Max Weber : "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism" translated by T. Parsons, chap. II, Methodology. He prefers "Provisional descriptions to conceptual definitions." p.47.

53. C. Cohen : "Materialism restated" 1927, p.24.

Cf. Leslie Stephen : "An Agnostic's Apology" pp.129-130.

54. Lokayata : "belonging to the world of sense" see R. Garbe "Lokayata" opcit. p.138.

55. K. Kautsky : "Communism in Central Europe in the time of the Reformation" trans. by Mulliken, 1897, p. 18. "One of the radical reasons for the tendency towards mysticism was the ignorance of the great masses of people."

56. Bertrand Russell : Introduction to Lange's Materialism, opcit, p.xi.

57. Anguttara I. 163 and other passages. F.L. Woodward translates it as "science of world speculation" See Gradual Sayings I p. 146 See also E.R.J. Gooneratne "Anguttara nikaya" 1913; p.187. "Brahmin...Versed in Lokayata". Here it is translated as "nature-lore".

58. Varttika Verse 10. (Pratijna Sutra).

59. For instance in his commentary on Brahma-Sutra I, 1, 2 ; II, 2, 2; III, 3, 53.

60. In Rhys Davids "Dialogues of Buddha" pt. 1 p.46. The view controverted here is : "Since, Sir, this soul has form, is built up of the four elements, and is the offspring of father and mother, does not continue after death; and then, Sir, the soul is completely annihilated".

61. Mahali and Galiya Sutta

62. Sandaka Sutta pp.363-4 in Lord Chalmers "Further Dialogues of Buddha" Vol I. 1926. This is one instance of writers referring to the content of Lokayata, instead of to the founder. The word Lokayata is not mentioned but the content referred to here is equivalent to materialism.

63. Abhidana padipika Verse 11.

See also Vidhura Jataka Fausboll's edition VI, 286.

64. Sutrakritanga Sutra Hanapat Singh's edition trans. Jacobi sacred books of the East Vol XLV I.i.1.6.

65. Sutrakritanga Sutra opcit I.i.1.7

Sutrakritanga Sutra II 1.21-24

For other references see A. Sen "Schools and Sects in Jaina literature" (Viswa-Bharati Studies No 3) 1931 pp 22-23.

66. Dussen "Vedanta system" 310.

See also Thibaut "Vedanta Sutas" II.269.

67. Maha-Bharata I, 2889 (-Harivamsa 14068)

Further references to Lokayata in Maha-Bharata see Muir "Indian Materialists" opcit. p.308.

68. All the references to the word Lokayata are taken from this dictionary. Rhys Davids, too, follows these references in his introduction to Kutadanta Sutta "Dialogues of Buddha" pt. I 1899. pp 166-172.

69. Gorresio's edition 11.109,29. For other references in Ramayana see Muir

- "Indian Materialists" opcit pp 303-307.
70. Chapter XIII at the beginning.
 71. Weber "Veber ein fragment der Bhagavati" II, 248 quoted in Rhys Davids' "Dialogues of Buddha" pt. I. p.170.
 72. S. Krishnaswami Aiyanger "Manimekhalai in its Historical Setting" 1928. Introduction. P. XXIX.
See V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar "Studies in Tamil Literature and History" 1930 p.81.
 73. Manimekhalai chap XXVII ed. S.K. Aiyangar pp.189-199. For the details of these ten systems see Ibid pp.54-56
 74. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.
 75. Manimekhalai: p 198;
 76. Manimekhalai opcit p. 192;
 77. Manimekhalai opcit pp. 191-2;
 78. Dikshitar opcit p. 84;
 79. Manimekhalai chapters XXVII, XXIX, XXX refer respectively to the heretical systems of thought, Buddhist logic and Buddhist teaching as such;
 80. Milindal, 17;
 81. Ibid I, 7;
 82. E.B.Cowell's preface, p.Viii (to ;Sarvadarsana Samgraha) Sriharsha-Charita p. 204 (Calcutta Ed.);
 83. See Appendix I pp. 93-94;
 84. See Appendix II pp. 95-96;
 85. Bhagawadgita XVI 6;
 86. Madhusudhana Saraswati, Prabodhachandrodaya, Sarvadarsana Sangraha;
 87. Max Mueller "Six Systems of Indian Philosophy" p 210;
 88. Tucci "A Sketch of Indian Materialism" pp.38-39;
 89. Nana Prabandha p.66;
 90. on the world:cosmogony: see Brihad-Aranyaka Upanishad III, 8, 3, Chandogya Upanishad IV, 17, 1. and VI, 2-7; On the colour of the rays of the sun: Ibid III'; On elements; Brihad-Aranyaka Upanishad II, 1, 5-7 and III, 7, 3-7; On the parts of body: Aitareya Upanishad III, 2, 1,4.
 91. Word Lokayata as controversy on fabulous or absurd points;
 92. Sammatitarkaprakaranad Jayanta "Nyayamanjari" quoted in D.R.Shastri "The Lokayats and Kapilakas" opcit. p.126;
 93. Bhatta Utpala's commentary on Brihatsamhita I, 7; 94) Sammatitarkaprakaranad Jayanta quoted in D.R. Shastri opcit p.126;
 95. Gunaratna "Tarkarahasyadipika";
 96. Hitherto the Lokayats denied inference as a source of knowledge and ether as a fifth element. But later texts like Jayanta's Nyayamanjari, Purandara, Sarvamatasamgraha all mention these changes. Those are later texts quoted in D.R. Shastri opcit. p. 127; Gaekwad Series XXX. Tattva-Samgraha Vol I p.433;
 97. Gunaratna. quoted in D.R. Shastri opcit p. 128;
 98. B. Barua "A History of Pre-Buddhist Philosophy"p. 293. "The examination of the sources of information leads us to the conclusion that the rather long and eventful history of Indian materialists...may be divided into many periods..";
 99. Marx and Engels "Die Heilige Familie" Frankfort a.m. 1845 pp.201-204

- quoted in F.Engels "Socialism-Utopian and Scientific" introduction p. 16;
100. Engels opcit p. 18;
 101. Engels opcit p. 17;
 102. Julius Heeker "Moscow Dialogues". 1934, dialogues 5-7;
 103. Brihaspati Sutra by Dr. F.W.Thomas pp. 9-11, 16;
 104. Artha Sastra ed. by R.Shama-Sastri I.I;
 105. Kama Sutra ed. Denodara Goswami p.19 Sutras 25-30;
 106. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series No. 95; Shaddarsana Samuchchaya pp 71-2;
 107. Tattva Samgraha;
 108. Gaekwad Series XXX Tattva Samgraha Vol. I. pp 519-547;
 109. Gita Bhashya 16.8 etc.;
 110. Tattva Kaumudi;
 111. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series p 199 III 3.55;
 112. Prabodha Chandrodya Act II;
 113. Exposition of Haribhadra's Shaddarsana Samuchchaya;
 114. Gita Bhashya XIII. 6;
 115. Sarvadarsana Samgraha Cowell and Gough pp 2;
 116. Max Mueller "Six Systems of Indian Philosophy" 1899 p.130;
 117. Radhakrishna "Indian Philosophy" Vol.I p. 279; A.A.Macdonell "History of Sanskrit Literature." ;p.450;
 118. Das Gupta "History of Indian Philosophy" Vol.I p.79;
 119. L.de La Valle Poussin article "Materialism" (Indian) in Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Vol. 8 p.493;
 120. B.Barua "A History of Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy" p.287;
 121. Max Mueller opcit p.113;
 122. Macdonell opcit p.406;
 123. Barua opcit p.287;
 124. Das Gupta opcit Vol.I p.79;
 125. Radhakrishnan opcit Vol I p.278. He writes on the next page p.279 that the founder is Charvaka. Does he mean that Charvaka existed prior to Brihaspati?;
 126. Max Mueller opcit p. 127;
 127. Belvalkar "History of Indian Philosophy" 1927 Vol.II p.458;
 128. Brahma Sutra III 3.53;
 129. Gita XVI ii;
 130. Prabodhachandrody Act II;
 131. Yasastilaka Nirayasaagara Ed. p.13;
 132. Sarvadarsana Samgraha p.2;
 133. Gopinath Kaviraj Editor of Varadaraja's "Kusumanjali Bodhini" p44;
 134. Rig Veda Mandala X
 135. Maitrayana Upanishad 7.9;
 136. B.Barua "A History of Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy" 1921 p.288;
 137. Tucci opcit p.36;
 138. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Vol VIII. p.493; B.Bhattacharya Foreword to Tattva Samgraha opcit pp.Liii—Lv; N.Dutt "Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools" pp84, 91;
 139. Max Mueller opcit p. 123;
 140. Max Mueller opcit p. 130;
 141. Ibid p.128;

142. The Word "Nastika" occurs in Maitrayani Upanishad III.5. Buddhist or materialist opinions are alluded in Chandogya Upanishad VI 2.1. Nastika and Nastikiya occur several times in Manu. There is an allusion in Ramayana (Ayodhyakanda ch.109 Schlegel's Ed). Here the word is loosely used for an atheist. We find "Nastika" as well as "Astika" in the Purohitagana, attached to Panini's grammar. See E.B.Cowell The Charvaka System of Philosophy" opcit p.373;
143. Max Mueller opcit. p. 129;
144. Vasudeva Sastri "Daranankura" pp 1-2;
145. Max Mueller opcit p. 129;
146. Tucci "A Sketch of Indian Materialism" p.38; Manu II.ii; See also E.W. Hopkins "The Great Epic of India" 1920 p.86. A nastika is a dissenter from received opinion in regard either to the existence of transcendental things or to the authority of hallowed tradition;
147. A.A.Macdonell "History of Sanskrit Literature" chap II pp35-39 and chap IX pp 244-252;
148. P.Shastrī Introduction to "Purva Mimamsa" chap I;
149. Bhasa "Pratima Nataka" p.79; Vatsyayana "Kama Sutra" I. i.7. Chowkamba Edition p.4 Asvagosha in "Buddha-charita" refers to Brihaspati as one of the founders of Raja Sastra, Maha Bharata, Vanaparva.32.61. Kautilya "Artha Sastra" refers to this point six times, p 6, 29, 63, 177, 192;
150. Somadeva Suri "Yasastilaka" and his commentator Sruta Sangara Suri "Niraya Sagara" 1901 p.13;
151. Tucci opcit p.40; B.C. Law "A Short Account of the Wandering Teachers" (This writer emphasises the "political" aspects rather than the "materialist" aspects).
152. D.K. Shastri, "The Lokayatikas and the Kapilakas" in The Indian historical Quarterly Edited by N.N. Law 1931 pp.125-27. Also p. 133.
153. An account of Kapilikas is also found in Krishna Misra's "Prabodhachandrodaya" Act III, 16.
154. Naishadacharita XVII.75. "The man who has prescribed the Shastras to show the way to salvation as one calculated to make animate beings inanimate and insensible like stones, is surely Gotama — the most bovine."
155. D.R. Shastri opcit p. 135
Ibid "Charvaka-Shashti" pp.29-32
The Tantrika theory also became corrupt later and the charges of sensualism against Tantrikas are grossly exaggerated. Sir John Woodroffe "Shakti and Shakta" 1929 px.
156. A Tamil Buddhist writer Sattanar of South India in 2nd century A.D. also uses the word "Bhutavada" as equivalent for Lokayata.
157. This is done by Jains and Buddhists as well. The authors of Kacika Vritti, who were probably Jainas, ascribe "the ill-conceived system of Brihaspati" to the Buddhists.
Max Mueller, in the Academy for the 25th Sep. 1880 p.284. The Buddhists on the other hand father it upon the Brahmins. Milinda-Panho p. 10 quoted in Barth opcit p.86.
158. Max Mueller opcit p. 130.
159. Krishna Misra in Prabodhacandrodaya Act II, and M.M. Vasudeva in his

commentary on Sarvadarsana Samgraha regard Charvaka as one of the followers of Brihaspati.

160. L. De La Valie Poussin "Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics" Vol 8 p. 49 3
161. R. Garbe "Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics" (on Lokayata) Vol 8 p.138
162. Poussin opcit p.493.
163. C. Bendall Athen-aeum 30th June 1900.
164. Poussin opcit 493.
165. Rig Veda II 12, 5
R.V. Frazer "Literary History of India" 1898 p.128.
166. Panini Ahstadyayi Sutra IV. 2.60.
167. Gaekwad Series XXX Foreword by B. Bhatta-Charya p.XIV see appendix I. pp.93-94.
168. Artha Sastra I. 1.
169. Belvalkar "History of Indian philosophy" Vol II p.458.
170. Ayodhyakanda, Jabalisamvada II. 103.
171. Santi Parva chaps. 38-39.
172. III. 17-18, 82-3, 85.
173. Srishti Khanda V.13.318-340.
174. XVII 37-84.
175. R. Grimblot "Sept. Suttas Pali" Paris 1876 p.123.
176. Dighanikya II.
177. H. Jacobi "Jaina Sutras" ii pp.XXIII, 339, 343.
178. Manimekhalai ed. by S.K. Aiyangar chap. XXVIII.
179. Patanjali's Mahabhasya VII.3.45
Cf. A. Weber "Indische Studien" XIII (1873) 343 f.
Bhaskaracharya on Brahmasutra, iii. 3.53 or Chowkamba ed. p. 196 H.T.
Colebrook's "Miscellaneous Essays" London 1873. i.429.
180. A.J. Muir "Indian Materialists" opcit p.314; (Fitz-Edward Hall has made long but fruitless search in India, for the aphorisms of Brihaspati)
See also E.B. Cowell "The Charvaka system of Philosophy" opcit. p.374.
"We may well despair of their being ever found, if even the discoverer of the Brihaspatiya Sastra has failed to find any trace."
181. Manu ii. II; iii 150, 161; iv 30, 61, 163; v 89; vii 22, 309; ix 225; xi 65-66; xii 33, 95, 96.
See also Muir "Indian Materialists" opcit p.310
Brihaspati "Artha Sastra" II 8; 12, 16, 29-30, 35, III. 15.
Garuda Purana Purva Khanda 98, 17.
182. Tucci opcit. p.36.
183. Rig Veda VII 103. The celebrated hymn on frogs is a satire, says Max Mueller, at the Vedic priesthood, or better, at the system of hymn chanting.
For translation see J. Muir "Metrical translations from Sanskrit Writers" 1879 pp.194-5. Rig Veda viii 89.3.4. reference is made to some free thinkers who had doubted the existence of Indra.
See J. Muir "Original Sanskrit Texts" Vol. III p 151.
Altareya Aranyaka III 2.6.8 "Why should we repeat the Veda or offer this kind of sacrifice?"
184. Richard Garbe "The Philosophy of Ancient India" 1897 p.25

- "We find in India that view of the world, which is "materialism". S. Radhakrishnan "Indian Philosophy" Vol. I 1925 p.277
185. III. 3.53 quoted by Garbe opcit p. 25.
See also Colebrook "Essays" Vol. I opcit pp.404-5
186. In "Vedanta Sara" 148-151 (paragraphs) quoted in Garbe opcit p.26.
See also, for detailed translation, H.T. Colebrook "Essays" Vol I. pp.403-4
187. Garbe opcit. p.26 (This is fully treated in the previous section)
188. Garbe opcit p.26.
189. Das Gupta opcit. Vol.I p.79.
190. Translated by E.B. Cowell and A.E. Gough 1st chap. London 1882 pp.2-11.
See J. Prasad "Introduction to Indian Philosophy" 1928 p.34.
191. There is a Brahmanic proverb : "If your only alternative be to encounter a heretic or a tiger, throw yourself before the latter, better be devoured by the animal than contaminated by the man." If such is the attitude of Brahmins, custodians of Hindu culture, how can we have any histories relating to materialist thought?
Quoted by H. H. Wilson, "Works" Vol. II, p. 87.
192. Rig-Veda, ii. 12, 5: viii. 100, 3, 4. quoted in A. Barth "The Religions of India" 1882, p. 85.
See also R. W. Frazer, "A Literary history of India" 1898, p. 128. "They ask, where is He? Or verily they say of Him He is not". (Graffith R. V. ii. 12.5)
See also S. K. Belvalkar and R. D. Ranade, "History of Indian Philosophy" Vol. 2, 1927, p. 78 "Scoffers and unbelievers, non-worshippers and desperate hedonists were, of course, not unknown to the pre-Brahmana period."
193. Rig Veda, VII. 103.
194. Taittir Samh vi, I, 1, 1. Katha Upanishad i, I, 20
195. Nirukta, i, 13-16.
196. Specially "Who deny a future life". See the condemnation of these in Bhagavadgita XVI, 6 and J. Muir, "Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers," 1879, pp. 12-22.
197. Barth, opcit, p. 86.
198. Belvalkar and Ranade opcit, p. 403.
199. B. Barua, "A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy" 1921, p. 5, "The immediate background of Indian Philosophy is to be found in the cosmogenic hymns of the ancient and early Vedic sages. The first philosophic reflections received impetus from the daily experience of things, changing into one another, and appearing and re-appearing at their appointed seasons."
200. Monier-Williams, "Buddhism", p. 8. The Vedas themselves had been denounced, reviled, and held as unworthy the consideration of wise men.
201. Max Mueller, "Six Systems of Indian Philosophy", p. 6 "Thought of systematised philosophy, in our sense of the word it contains as yet, little or nothing at this period (from about 700 B.C.)"
202. For the date of Vedic Hymns : (The age of Rig Veda) A. B. Keith in Cambridge History of India, Ancient India, Vol. I, 1922, p. 112.
203. R. G. Bhandarkar, "Collected Works" 1933, Vol. I, p. 63. of Max Mueller,

- "The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy," 1899, p. 6. "But while Sutras (the form in which the Lokayata system is written as attributed to Brihaspati) give us abstracts of the various systems of philosophy, ready made, there must have been, may there was, one period, previous to the Sutras during which we can watch something like growth, like life and strife, and that is the last stage of the Vedic period, as represented to us in the Upanishads."
204. For the justification of the uses of the term "School" or -system" see : Millebrandt "Festschrift Kuhn" pp. 14 ff. quoted in A. B. Keith "History of Sanskrit Literature", p. 499.
See also, Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics: Poussin's article, p. 493 f.
205. Das Gupta, Vol. I, opcit, p. 78.
206. Radhakrishnan, opcit, Vol. I, p. 276.
207. P. D. Shastri, "Essentials of Eastern Philosophy" p. 55.
208. Mueller, "Six Systems of Indian Philosophy", p. 127.
209. A. A. Macdonell, "History of Sanskrit Literature", p. 393.
210. Maitri Up. vii. 9 denounces, "the false science of Brihaspati."
211. Max Mueller, "Six Systems of Indian Philosophy", p. 6.
212. R. Garbe, "The Philosophy of Ancient India" p. 69. "The older Upanishads originated approximately in the period from the 8th to 6th century B.C."
213. Radhakrishnan, Vol. I, "History of Philosophy" opcit, pp. 141-2.
214. Max Mueller and Schroeder think that Maitrayani belongs to the earliest group. Deussen counts it as a comparatively later production. Winternitz divides the Upanishads into four periods and places, Madirayani in the last period. See Das Gupta, "History of Indian Philosophy" Vol. I, p. 39. He thinks that the earliest Upanishads were compiled about 500 B.C.
215. Barth opcit, p. 31, "The coexistence of things which seem to us to contradict and exclude each other is exactly the history of India."
216. The word Lokayata is not mentioned in these texts. The word "False Knowledge" (referring of course to heretical or unorthodox ideas) is freely used :
Katha Upanishad II 4.5
Vag Up. II
Chandogya Upanishad, VIII, 8.
217. A. A. Macdonell, "A History of Sanskrit Literature." p. 35.
A. B. Keith, "A History of Sanskrit Literature." p. 406.
218. Macdonell, opcit, p. 36.
219. Keith, opcit, p. 36.
220. Ibid, p. 472.
221. Ibid, p. 472.
222. Mahabharata, "Santi Parva" chapters 38-39.
223. A. A. Macdonell, "History of Sanskrit Literature" p. 287. "The great epic had become a didactic compendium before the beginning of our era."
E. W. Hopkins, "The period of the Sutras, Epics and Law Books" in Cambridge History of India. India Vol. I, p. 222.
Belvalkar and Ranade, opcit, p. 450. He assigns it to pre-Buddhist period.
224. Date of Mahabharata : The events of Mahabharata took place around 1152 B.C. (see S. N. Pradhan, "Chronology of ancient India" 1927, p.

- 260). But the text was not written till 700 or 600 B.C. There is a voluminous literature on this is futile to list it here.
225. The ideas of these writers will be discussed in "Post-Upanishadic Materialist Thinkers", including materialist aspects of Buddhism and Jainism.
226. Haribhadra, "Saddarsana-Samuchchaya" belongs to 528 A.D. Pousin opcit p. 493. Masson-Oursel assigns him to 10th century A.D. opcit, p. 215.
227. Macdonell, "History of Sanskrit Literature" p. 289.
228. Ibid, p. 289.
229. Commentator of Haribhadra. D. R. Shastri, "The Lokayats and Nastikas" opcit, p. 125.
230. Keith, "History of Sanskrit Literature", p. 500.
231. H. Jacobi, "Gottinger Gelehrte Anzeigen" 1919 p. 22. quoted in Keith : "History of Sanskrit Literature." p. 498.
- J. N. Farquhar, "An Outline of the Religious Literature of India" 1920, p. 61. "It seems that the materialistic school lokayata was already in existence..."
- Poussin W. N. "The way to Nirvana" 1917, p. 61.
- A. B. Keith, "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," 1917, p. 175, n. 2.
232. This is a summary from Sarvadarsana Samgraha (1st chapter pp.2-11) of Charvaka system as known to India in 14th century.
233. E.B. Co well's preface to Sarvadarsana Samgraha p viii.
234. Sarvadarsana Samgraha p.2.
235. Madhava "Sarvadarsana Samgraha"; translated by E.B. Cowell and A.E. Gough: 1882 pp.2-3 They quote for this: Brihad Aranya Up.ii.4.12.
236. Poussin cites an interesting passage belonging to the literature of the materialists, opcit. p.492: A sentence belonging to the literature of the materialists says : "there is nothing in man except what is visible to the sense look, dear friend, at what these so called scholars call the traces of the wolf. A man who wanted to convert - let us say pervert¹ — a women to his materialist opinions, went out of the town with her, and on the dust of the road he drew with the thumbs, index fingers, and middle fingers of his two hands, marks resembling the foot-prints of a wolf. In the morning the scholars said : "Assuredly a wolf came last night from the forest; for otherwise it would be impossible that there could be a wolfs foot-prints on the road." And the man said to the woman : "See, dear friend, what clever thinkers these men are who maintain that induction proves the existence of supra-sensible objects, and who are regarded as scholars by the crowd." (1) Lokatattvanirnaya : See Museon IX (1908) 282, Saddarsanasamuchchaya (Giorn Soe asiat-ital xviii (1905) 290.Madhyamakavrtti Petrograd 1908 p. 360. Madhyamakavatara Ibid 1909 p. 209. All these citations are made by Poussin opcit p. 494.
237. Haribhadra "Saddarsana Samuchchaya" (528 A.D.) Museon IX 1908 p. 282.
238. A. A. Macdonell "A History of Sanskrit Literature" pp. 406-407.
- A. B. Keith "A History of Sanskrit Literature" 1928 pp. 498-499.
- S. D. S. Gupta "A History of Indian Philosophy" 1922 Vol. I, p. 79.
- J. Prasad "Introduction to Indian Philosophy" 1923 pp. 33-37.
- H. T. Colebrook "Essays" Vol. I, pp. 402-405.
- R. Garbe "The Philosophy of Ancient India" 1897, pp. 25-29.
- H. H. Wilson "Works" ed. by R. Post 1862, Vol. II, p. 87.

242. Robert Flint, "Agnosticism", 1903. For Hindu agnosticism see pp. 81-82. Rhys Davids, "Buddhism" 207. "Agnostic atheism is the characteristics of his system of philosophy."
243. C. C. Sinha, "Hedonism in Ancient India" (in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society), Vol. XIV, pt. II, 1928, p. 187.
244. Sinha, opcit. p. 187.
245. Sinha, opcit. p. 187.
246. B. Barua, "A History of pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy" 1921, p. 288 - "The Sarvadarsana account of Charvaka philosophy is a curious combination of the materialistic views of Ajita and Payasi, the biological theories of Makkhali Gosala, the political tenets of Brihaspati and the naive hedonism of the common-folk."
247. G. A. Jacob, "The Vedanta Sara" pp. 70-71 or Sutras 82-85. E. B. Cowell "The Charvaka System of Philosophy" (published as a pamphlet), p. 74.
248. Julius Hecker, "Moscow Dialogues" 1933, p. 78. "He is undoubtedly a direct link between Hegelianism and Marxism, and one of the makers of that revolutionary philosophy which so militantly aspires the Communist movement."
249. His views will be dealt in detail in a separate paper : For a brief sketch see Poussin, opcit. p. 493-4.
250. Mueller, "six systems of Indian Philosophy," 1899, p. 127 "Among the works mentioned in the Lalita Vistara as studied by Buddha, a Brihaspatiyam is mentioned....."
Paul Masson Oursel, "Eswuisse D' Une Histoire de la Philosophie Indienne" 1923 p. 214. The Charvakas exercised to a large extent influence on the Jains, Sarvastivadins, Samkhya, and Vaisheshikas. These various systems recognised in the materialist system a certain truth."
J. Muir, "Indian Materialists" p. 312, Bournouf, who is followed by Lassen, Muller and others, is of opinion that Buddha merely carried on a work which had been previously commenced by Kapila and Patanjali and proceeded upon atheistical principles furnished to him by the former of these philosophers "Bouddhisme Indien" pp. 211, 520.
251. The wide prevalence of atheistic sentiments in the middle ages of Indian history, can be seen from Kumarila's references to Purva Mimamsa. He says "for the mimamsa has generally been turned into a school of materialism (or a theism-Lokayata) but I have made this attempt to bring it into the paths of theism (or the recognition of a future existence astikapathe)." See Muir, "Original Sanskrit Texts" Vol. III, p. 209.
Cf. K. M. Banerjee, "Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy" pp. 78ff 477ff. This will be dealt in detail later in a concluding chapter "Why did Brahmanism Triumph?"
252. 705-762 A. D. according to Bhattacharya. See Foreword to Tattvasamgraha cited below p. XIV.
253. Tattvasamgraha of Santaraksita with the commentary of Kamalasila edited with an introduction in Sanskrit by Pandit Embar Krishnamacharya and a Foreword in English by the general editor Benoytosh Bhattacharya. Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. XXX in 2 Vols, 1926, p. 521.
A review : N. Dutt, pp. 813-821 in Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. 5, 1929.
254. Haraprasad Shastri, "Nepal Catalogue" Vol. II, p. 72.
See also Sangitaratnakara (Anandasrama Edition) ch. I, 16.
255. Lokayata (Bulletin of the Dacca University No. i), p. 2.
256. B. C. Law, "Historical Gleanings" p. 35.

- H. H. Wilson -Works" Vol. I, p. 22.
- A. Weber The History of Indian Literature" 1892, p. 246.
- G. A. Jacob "A Manual of Hindu Pantheism" - The Vedanta Sara, 181, p. 74.
- E. B. Cowell "On the Charvaka Sut" (Appendix C. in H. T. Colebrooke "Miscellaneous Essays" Vol. I, 1875 Ed. by E. B. C. pp. 456-460)
- Monier Williams "Indian Wisdom" 1875, pp. 132-134.
- P. Masson-Oursel opcit pp. 214-218.
- Max Mueller "Six Systems of Indian Philosophy" (Brihaspati Philosophy) pp. 123-137.
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- S. Radha Krishnan, "Indian Philosophy" Vol. I, pp. 278-283.
- H. Jacobi "A Contribution towards the early history of Indian Philosophy." translated by V. A. Suktankar in Indian Antiquary Vol. 47, 1981, pp. 101-109.
- R. W. Frazer "Literary History of India" 1898, p. 128.
- Paul Deussen "The System of Vedanta" translated by C. Johnston 1912, see pp. 287-8.
- Hegel "Lectures on the History of Philosophy" Vol. I, p. 127.
239. C. C. Sinha, "Hedonism in ancient India" p. 192.
- Monier Williams, "Indian Wisdom", p. 132. He calls Charvaka, the phyrrho and Epicurus of India.
- E. B. Cowell, "On the Charvaka Sect" opcit, p. 456. The Hindu sceptical school corresponds to Pyrrho and Sextus Empiricus.
240. For the discussion on Greek and Indian Philosophy : See A. B. Keith, "A History of Sanskrit Literature" pp. 500-504. R. Garbe, "Philosophy of Ancient India" pp. 32-56. H. T. Colebrook, "Miscellaneous Essays", Vol. I, 1837, p. 405 "Among the Greeks Dicaearchus of Messene held the same tenet, which has been here ascribed to the Lokayatikas, that there is no such thing as soul in man, that the principle, by which he perceives and acts is diffused through the body, is inseparable from it, and terminates with it " See also C. C. Sinha, "Hedonism in Ancient India" in (Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society) Vol. XIV, 1928, part II, pp. 183-222.
241. J. M. Robertson, "A Short History of Free Thought" 2 Vols. 2nd Ed. Vol. I, p. 9 - "free thought may be defined as a conscious reaction against some phase or phases of conventional or traditional doctrine in religion - on the one hand, a claim to think freely in the sense not of disregard for logic, but of special loyalty to it on problems to which the past course of things has given a great intellectual and practical importance; on the other hand, the actual practise of such thinking."
- Robertson, opcit, p. 10 - "Concretely considered, it as preceded by the support and stimulus of successive accretions of actual knowledge; and the modern consciousness of its own abstract importance emerged by way of an impression or inference from certain social phenomena, as well as in terms of self-as-serting instinct." See pp. 46-60 : For the process of free thinking in India : - p. 60. "In ancient society, in shroto, there could be no continuous progress in free thinking; at best, there could be periods or lines of relative progress the result of special conjectures of social and political circumstance."

257. I will deal more of this writer when I come to discuss "Post-Upanishadic Materialist Thinkers".
258. For Kambalasvatara See Bhattachary's Foreword to Tattvasamgraha, opcit, pp. LIII-LV.
259. Tattvasamgraha, opcit, p. 431.
260. 713-763 onwrds A.D. Bhattachary's Foreword to Tattvasamgraha, p. XIX and XCVI.
261. Bhattacharya's Foreword, opcit, pp. LXXXV-LXXXVI.
262. R. D. Ranade, "A Constructive Survey of Upanishadic Philosophy" 1926. p. 38. "We must take care to understand the word "dialectic" here in its root sense, as the method of the dialogue, instead of in platonic or the Hegelian sense in which it may be otherwise be understood." "Unless the superiority of the leading philosopher is implicitly acknowledged, a discourse very often takes the form of wrangling and may end tragically "

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VIII

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All other sources are indicated in the footnotes	

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**Kapila - An Introduction to Early
Sankhya Philosophy
(700-600 B.C.)**

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Intoduction

A.

What is Sankhya? The term Sankhya in Sanskrit denotes "number", "judgement", and "discrimination". The doctrines of the system are pre-eminently sought and defended by "reason" in opposition to mere authority, of which the Brahmins of that period were very fond. "They exercise judgement", says the Bharat "and are therefore termed Sankhyas?".¹

The Sankhya system was the first and only real system of philosophy to which the Indian mind gave birth. It was the earliest attempt on record to give an answer from reason alone to the various problems of the world² Though six or even seven schools of philosophers may be admitted to have existed in the earlier ages, they were more or less indebted to this school for their fundamental dogmata. Some of these, however, have follow more closely in its steps, and have been generally ranked under the same name. Of these we may distinguish four:

1. The pure Sankhya (nirishwara)
2. The Theistic Sankhya (Seshwara)
3. The Yoga of Patanjali
4. The karma Yoga of Bhagawadgita.

These doctrines extended however still further, and in the 12th and 13th centuries we find them somewhat changed, and frightfully disfigured by Brahmanical mysticism in many of the Puranas. A Pauranika Sankhya school is generally enumerated among the branches of the general system. These bear no title to be considered as a separate school of philosophy. It is with the first of these schools, the pure, the nirishwara, or as it is called atheistic Sankhya that we have now to do.

B

The first questions which enquiry prompts are, who and what were its founder and its earliest teachers? What existing remains of it have we received?

Kapila was the founder of this system. He was born in Northern India at some time before the birth of Buddha.³ Some say he was a systemiser rather than a founder. He was in all probability a simple school master. He was a Brahmin whose learning had acquired for him the privilege of instructing the young of his own caste. Asuri and Iswara Krishna were the most important. Iswara Krishna systemised the teachings of Kapila.

The works from which we gather our knowledge of the Sankhya system in its purity consist firstly of the Sastras. These are attributed to Kapila himself. These collections of his dogmata, as they have been handed down, were probably made by studious disciples, long after he had ceased to exist. They are entitled "Sankhya Pravachana" a work of 499 Sutras (verses) comprised in six chapters. The first of these works is accompanied by a commentary by Vijnana Bhikshu, entitled "Sankhya-pravachana-bhashya."

The next source is Sankhya-Karika of Iswara Krishna. These works are the reliable sources from which a knowledge of the Sankhya system may be derived.⁴

Indian commentators have distinguished the pure Sankhya as nirishwara which has been injudiciously translated as "atheistic. Iswara(lord) is the title given by the Theistic Sankhya to the Supreme being whose existence is their chief doctrine. This branch has therefore been called Seshwara (sa "with" and Ishwara") "Possessing," that is, "acknowledging such a supreme deity"; and to distinguish it, the other has been termed nirishwara (nir "without" and "ishwara") "not possessing", that is, "omitting to acknowledge such a being". But the word "atheist", signifies one who actually denies the existence of a being superior both to matter and to man. Kapila has not done this. He does not, it is true mention the existence of such a being, but he leaves it doubtful whether he exists or not. He treats of philosophy rather in relation to matter and man than to spirit. Again it is true that he grants volition to nature, and thus in some sort deifies it; but when by the side of

this, we find him, at the same time, asserting the superiority of spirit(soul) even to this deified nature, we cannot accuse him of complete materialism. Lastly, he admits the existence of an essence, from which individual souls have emanated, and into which they are eventually to be re-absorbed; and though he confined himself to this simple admission, and does not investigate the real nature of this Essence, the very fact that he makes it superior to nature is sufficient to show that, had he gone farther, he would, like his predecessors have declared it to be the supreme Being.⁵

The pure Sankhya is therefore so far atheistic as it refers the creation of matter to a system of emanation, obedient to the will, not of a creator, but of Prakriti, "nature", the essence of matter; but not only does it not deny the existence of a Supreme being, but even hints at it in referring the emanation of individual souls to an Essence gifted with volition.⁶

C

What is Kapha's idea of Philosophy? He suggests knowledge as the cure for the evils of this life;⁷ "knowledge is power. Knowledge is the highest perfection of man; the superiority of one man over another, of gods over man, and of the Supreme Being over Gods, is according to the superiority of their knowledge"—says Kapila. But what is this knowledge. It is the knowledge of the truth, which philosophy teaches, and which defines the reason of our existence here on earth, by drawing the line between matter and soul, nature and spirit; and showing the connection of these four to one another, the reason of their connection and their final disconnection.⁸ He argues that such a knowledge cannot be obtained from the Vedas, for they are impure, as ordaining sacrifice and insufficient for the attainment of this great purpose. Some Vedantists interpret him to be acknowledging the divine origin and authority of the Vedas. It is not true. Sankara in his commentary on the Brahma Sutras, discusses this subject, and concludes:

"Hence it is proved that Kapila's system is at variance with the words of Manu, who follows the Veda, not only in supposing, an independent Prakriti (nature), but also in supposing a diversity of souls".⁹

D

How then is this knowledge acquired? What is the philosophical method adopted by Kapila? His methods are: perception, inference, and testimony. Perception is the use of our senses in grasping those objects which are within their reach, such as developed matter. Inference is the use of our reason, in proving the existence of what is beyond the reach of our senses from that which is within their reach, and it is of three kinds.viz., that of effect from cause, that of cause from effect, and from comparison. Testimony of two kinds, actual revelation and tradition. By inference the great doctrine of causality is established, and the existence of the imperceptible is proved, as that of nature, or the material essence, from that of developed matter. When both perception and inference fail, we must often accept revelation and tradition. Though he made testimony the last source of information, yet he has accepted without a murmur two important dogmata, transmigration and the existence of Gods (popular deities) from Brahmanism.¹⁰

E

Having shown his idea of philosophy and his method, we must now proceed to his doctrines and system. It is not necessary to go through the whole length of his system for our purposes. Here is a brief summaris of his main ideas:

According to his system Intelligence and Consciousness are set down as parts of matter.¹¹ Intelligence is the faculty of perceiving, investigating, considering and reflecting on matter. Intelligence during this life is limited to the experience derived from matter, and is incapable of conceiving, imagining, or even comprehending those ideas which experience has afforded no precedents.

Nature—material essence—is Kapila's plastic principle, gifted with volition. This principle has no cause, no origin; is not produced by anything. Some say it corresponds to modern ether. It is eternal, universal, immutable. With these nine attributes, it produces Matter. Matter has nine attributes opposed to those of nature. It is not eternal, not universal, mutable, multiple, accidental, attributive or gifted with qualities, compound, and subordinate.¹²

F

Kapila inspite of some orthodoxical leanings is a democrat. All men alike have the power of effecting their emancipation; but all men have not equal faculties, nor the same inclinations. The Sudra, the Mlecha (Barbarian:outsider) the Woman, to whom advantages have been denied by the Brahmins, all have access to eternity in Sankhya; but their different dispositions are not denied.

The importance of Kapila lies in this. He, like Descartes, refused to accept the authority of anything which had preceded him. He placed revelation in the lowest rank of the sources of ascertainment. He would accept only what his reason or his conviction would accept.

In the judgment of Kapila the Vedic system was not perfectly efficient. He gives three reasons :

1. It was impure. It required sacrifice. The blood of animals had to be shed to a great extent. As a matter of fact it was. In the Aswamedha (horse sacrifice) more than a hundred horses might be sacrificed. To Kapila all such rites are impure.
2. It was connected with destruction.
3. It was excessive or unequal, for all men are not wealthy enough to offer costly sacrifices to the gods, and thus the rich man may have more and the poor man less than is due to his individual merit.¹³

The leading principle of Kapila's system is that blessedness of soul cannot be obtained by religious rites but by knowledge.

G

What influence did Kapila have on the philosophical movements of his day?

Kapila established no society and no hierarchy. He knew nothing of sympathy with mankind in general. He addressed himself to his colleague thinkers, and to them alone. Hence his system remained only as a philosophical theory, effecting the whole course of Hindu thought in some respects, chiefly in its physical speculations, but never attaining a practical supremacy over large masses

of men. It was never embodied and crystallised in a concrete form, and as a complete system. It has been preserved only as an intellectual product, or as an esoteric doctrine, understood and accepted by a small inner circle of free thinking men.¹⁴

But some say his system influenced Buddhism and Jainism.¹⁵

Others are doubtful of this influence.¹⁶ Burnouf thinks that Buddhism is only a carrying out of the principles of the Sankhya. Keith writes that some of the conceptions of Buddhism are very closely allied to those of Sankhya.¹⁷ Weber thinks that it is not unlikely that Kapila and Buddha are one and the same persons. Wilson writes that some principles are common to both of them. Jacobe and Garbe assert that Sankhya doctrines are older than Buddhist ones.¹⁸ In spite of this diversity of views many scholars hold the view that Sankhya is anterior to Buddha and it influenced Buddhism a great deal.

II

"While in most countries a history of philosophy is inseparable from a history of philosophers, in India we have indeed ample materials for watching the origin and growth of philosophical ideas but hardly any for studying the lives or characters of those who founded or supported the philosophical systems of that country."¹⁹

This is true of Kapila. We hardly know anything about this writer. In the bulk of Sanskrit Literature he is revered as a God. His human origins are entirely forgotten. All that we know is that he was a Brahmin scholar and a simple school master.

Kapila is said to be anterior to Buddha and Mahavira. He can safely be placed around 7th century B.C.

According to tradition Kapila taught to Asuri, Asuri to Panchasikha, Panchasikha to Varshaganya, to Iswara Krishna and to Vijnana Bhikshu.²⁰ These teachings were preserved by the mnemonic system before they were incorporated into literary compositions. The idea of private property in any philosophic truth hardly existed in India.²¹ Consequently the disciples of Kapila appropriated to themselves what belonged to their master. During this mnemonic period anything could be added and anything left out before each system reaches the form in which we possess it.²²

Sankhya-Pravachana and Sankhya Karika—the texts we are dealing with in this paper—are of such type. They were ascribed to Kapila of 7th-6th century B.C. and the systems as we have them now were written in the early Christian era, an era which is great for literary activity in India. The thought of these books is of the 7th-6th century B.C. The literary forms of these books are of the early Christian Era. Since I am concerned with “thought” and not with “literary forms” I treat this system as a thought belonging to 7th-6th century B.C.

The date of the composition of these texts also is uncertain. The composition of the Sankhya Pravachana Sutras is ascribed to 1st century A.D.²³ But the commentator Vijnana Bhikshu belongs to the 10th century A.D.²⁴ Das Gupta assigns Sankhya Karika of Iswara Krishna to 200 A.D.²⁵ Keith assigns it to 4th century A.D.²⁶ But Max Muller writes:

“Though we are enabled to assign the Sankhya Karika to the 6th century A.D., it by no means follows that this work itself did not exist before that time. Native tradition we are told assigns his work to the 1st century B.C.”²⁷

As I have written earlier, it is futile to discuss the dates of these intermanable commentators. All scholars are agreed that Sankhya is ascribed to Kapila. And Kapila belongs to 7th-6th century B.C. while his commentators belong from 1st to 16th centuries. Again the commentators are not of the same mind. Some see theism in Sankhya like Patanjali, some atheism like Sankara. In this paper we are concerned with the earlier doctrines of Sankhya of the 7th-6th century B.C. as preserved to us by Iswara Krishna of 2nd century A.D.

III

A

Methods of Obtaining Knowledge

“perception, inference, and fit testimony are the threefold (kinds of) accepted proof, because in them every mode of proof is fully contained. The complete determination or perfect knowledge (siddhi) of what is to be determined is by proof.”²⁸

“Perception is the application (of the senses) to special

objects of sense. Three kinds of inference are declared: it (an inference or logical conclusion) is preceded by a *linga* (mark or sign—major premiss) and a *lingi* (the subject in which it inheres—minor premiss). Fit testimony is fit revelation."²⁹

"The knowledge of formal or generic existence is by perception; of things beyond the senses by inference; that which cannot be determined by this (methods) and cannot be perceived must be determined by fitting means."³⁰

Kapila limits all possible knowledge to his three methods of proof—Perception, Inference and Testimony. He rejects all innate ideas, and all knowledge derived from pure consciousness. He adopts the axiom, "*Nihil est in intellectu quod non prius in sensu*" Kant has contended that the idea of God cannot be derived from reason, but only from the facts of moral consciousness, which have no place in Kapila's system.

Kapila did not wholly reject the Vedas, but he treats them with little respect, and makes their authority subordinate to that of reason.

Kapila recognises that there are some things too subtle for the senses to be known. Whatever lies beyond perceived or inferred existence can only be known by testimony.

The Chief important ideas from these verses are:

1. He rejects all innate ideas.
2. He derives knowledge from sensations.
3. He recognises the limitations of sense perceptions.³¹

Kapila contends against the assumption that the senses are the only sources of knowledge. Our senses are limited, in their own nature, and their action is imperfect from many opposing circumstances. Hence many things exist which they cannot reveal, and they give imperfect information of things which lie within their range.

4. He belittles the authority of the Vedas. He puts them in the last category of proofs for obtaining knowledge.

These ideas are not only too revolutionary for a Brahmin, but also for the Brahmanic system of his day.

B

Origin of Nature

"Nature (Prakriti), the root (of material forms), is not produced. The Great one (Mahat-Buddhi or intellect) and the rest (which spring from it) are seven (substances), producing and produced. Sixteen are productions (only). Soul is neither producing nor produce"³²

The meaning of this verse is clear. Matter in its primal form (Prakriti) is eternal and self existing. From it all things emanate except soul. From Prakriti proceed intellect (Mahat or Buddhi). It is material. Kapila, like modern science, makes intellect a mere form of matter. It is of the subtlest of matter. In the system of Kapila, everything connected in function with sensuous objects is material as the objects themselves, being equally an emanation from Prakriti.

From intellect proceeds consciousness or Egoism (Ahankara). If we turn Descartes upside down to "Sum, ergo cogito", Kapila's theory of consciousness resembles that. His theory of consciousness flows from existence. From Ahankara or consciousness proceed the five subtle elements (tanmatra) which are the primary forms or essences of gross material things, i.e., of all formal life. Both consciousness and all existing external forms have a real objective being independent of the soul. To the five subtle principles are given the technical names of sound, tangibleness or touch, odour, visibility or and taste.

From these primary essences proceed the five gross elements (mahabhuta). These are:

1. ether (akasa), from the subtle element called sound. This fills all space and envelops all things.
2. Air (Vayu), from the element tangibleness,
3. earth, from the element odour.
4. light, or fire, from the element visibility.
5. water, from the element called taste.

From consciousness proceed also:

6. The five organs of sense (indrya) which are the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, and the skin

7. The five organs of action the voice, the hands, the feet, the anus, and the organs of generation.

Kapila saw that consciousness was the base of the reality of all our sense perceptions. This was misinterpreted to mean idealism of Kant. It is not so. With Kapila consciousness is also material. With Kant, the external world does not exist outside our consciousness. The system of Kapila can be compared to the system of Hegel. With both subject and object made one by an absolute synthesis; for the subterfuge of thought and consciousness and of the external world is the same in kind, since elementary substances issue from consciousness, and consciousness proceeds from intellect. Lastly, it produces the mahas, which is the receptive and discriminating faculty. It receives and individualises the impressions made by outward objects on the senses. These it submits to consciousness, by which an attribute of personality is given to them and through which they pass on to the intellect.

Thus Kapila builds step by step his theory of psychology based on physics and physiology. We gather two important ideas:

1. Knowledge is material.
2. To prove the materiality of knowledge, he had to recourse to concrete psychology based on the physics and physiology of his day.

C

The Theory of Gunas

"Goodness" (Satva) is considered as light (or subtle), and enlightening (or manifesting); "passion" (Rajas) or "foulness" as exciting and mobile; "darkness" (Tamas) as heavy and enveloping (or obstructive, varanka).³³

Nature, or primordial matter, is described in the system of Kapila as formed by the Gunas,³⁴ which were primarily in equilibrium and as long as this state existed there was no emanation into separate forms of matter. This state of rest was destroyed when nature began to act. This movement as motion or activity in general is due to the influence of Guna-or continuent of Nature-which is called Passion (Rajas)

The Gunas are a mere hypothesis, invented to account, for the manifest differences in the conditions of formal existences. The

same idea seems to have presented itself to some of the earlier Greek philosophers. In the system of Valentius the Gnostic, all men and all substances are divided into three classes: the spiritual, the vital and the material (Hylis). This corresponds to the Gunas of Kapila. These Gunas are called by Kapila: Satva, truth or goodness, Rajas properly passion, and Tamas darkness. The Gunas are the constituents of nature. Satva means primarily existence or reality, the real essence of anything; and hence truth and also goodness or virtue. The second constituent is termed "passion" or "foulness" because it is the exciting element. The third "darkness" is the grossest of elements.

The Gunas³⁵ are classed as pleasant, unpleasant, and stupefying. Each may subdue or support the other and have a mutual existence. They pass into one another or produce the effects of each in different conditions.

How does universal nature (pakriti) being one, according to Kapila, produce different effects? How does it act at all, since it is not acted upon by anything external to itself? The answer of Kapila is, that it acts by virtue of its internal formation. It is composed of the three Gunas (modes) and is inert when these are in equilibrium. It acts through a disturbance of this state. The modes are endowed with a power of motion and from their restless action combination may be effected in different proportions as one or another may be predominant.

Later, he makes the soul absolutely dependent on the senses for its ideas. In refusing to admit that there is anything higher than the individual soul, which may enlighten or act upon it, he laid the foundation for a philosophical scepticism.

The importance of this theory is: Kapila expounds here the origin, the development and dissolution of beings in a rationalistic manner. No wonder Kapila is said to be the father of the concept of "evolution".³⁶

D

Causality

"Existing things (Sat) are (proved to be) effects from the non existence of cause; by the taking (by men) of a material cause (to

produce anything); from the non 1/2 existence of universal production (by every cause); from the possible causality of an efficient agent (only); and from the nature of cause."³⁷

The world, as it exists, was to Kapila an effect. The doctrine of Kapila is indeed that cause and effect are so far identical that an effect is only a developed cause. Kapila argues a primal material cause, itself uncaused, from which all exist things have ultimately proceeded. He did not admit a supreme spiritual Being, an Iswara or Lord, either as the author or ruler of the visible world, but he argued for the existence of a primal material cause. As the necessary antecedent of every other existence. From this primal material cause, he deduces a law of succession. It is this law of succession which Kapila declares to be invariable and necessary as to all the facts or formal existences in nature.

Kapila again argues that cause and effect mutually imply each other. Cause must also bear a relation to the effect. It must be of the same nature. An efficient cause is also necessary for the production of an effect as well as a material cause. His idea of cause and effect is of an antecedent form or substance, of which the effect is an emanation. Effect is a developed cause and cause is an undeveloped effect. Both are the same in substance and hence, from the nature of cause, it involves the effect in itself, as that which is evolved implies the cause or material source from which it has been evolved. To Kapila, all formal life is a development, a succession from cause to effect, from effect to cause.

The importance of this idea is, Kapila contraposed "causality" to Brahmanic "authority" as a source of knowledge.

E

Purpose

'Thus this (development of being) formed from Nature (Prakriti), from the great principle (Buddhi, intellect) down to specific beings, is for the deliverance of each individual soul. This action (arambha) is for another, as if for itself (Nature)³⁸

"As the production of milk, which is unintelligent (unknowing) causes the growth of the calf, so the development (Pravritti) of Nature causes the liberation of soul."³⁹

"As people engage in acts that they make desires to cease, so does the undeveloped principle (Prakriti) for the liberation of the soul"⁴⁰

Kapila here maintains that a purpose or design may be formed and completed unconsciously without a designing mind. He adduces as an argument in his favour the fact that in the udder of a cow the milk by which the calf is nourished is secreted without the action of intelligence. This is a favourite illustration amongst his disciples, and is generally put forward as conclusive on the subject. Kapila is content to assume the non-existence of a designer, because the milk is produced, and there is no evidence of a designing mind in the course of its production. He saw that there was an adaptation of means to an end in the supply of a suitable nourishment for the calf; but as the cow supplies it without bringing an intelligent agency to bear upon the production, so Nature works in providing what is for the benefit of the soul. She is not acted upon by any external force or necessity, nor is she directed by a superior power, nor does she produce by the necessary action of some internal mechanism but by a blind instinct as men act to gratify some desire that rises within them without volition.

Even today men ask, "can we conceive of an idea of design, without an intelligent designer?" Kapila in his own way said, "Yes" by his law of causality and succession, by his theory of Gunas (modes), he explains that it is unnecessary that the created should have the creator.

F

Denial of the Existence of God

This is clearly stated in the Sutras (aphorisms) of Kapila:

The existence of Iswara (God) is a thing unproved.⁴¹

In this, he does not directly deny the existence of god. He merely takes sceptical position. He merely says that his existence has not been proved. But he does not leave the matter here. An objector will naturally say that the Vedas prove that existence, and assert it with divine authority. He then offers in reply the following dilemma and expounds it:

"Of free and bound, He cannot be either, and therefore, cannot exist."⁴²

He can neither be free from trouble, such as mundane creatures suffer, nor bound through troubles. For:

"Either way he would be inefficient."⁴³

If he were free from such troubles, he would have no desires which could instigate him to create: desires being reckoned as a class of those troubles. If he were bound, he would be under illusion. In either case he would be ineffective. He could not create. The present universe could not therefore have sprung from him, and there is no proof of his existence.⁴⁴

IV A

The system of Kapila is essentially a philosophy. Like some modern philosophers, he had no theology. He admitted the existence of Gods (deities), but they were only emanations from Prakriti (Nature) and are to be absorbed hereafter into this all comprehending source, as all other forms of material life. He rejects with evident scan the rites which the Vedas assumed or commanded. In his view they were both impure and inefficient. He rejected sacrifice, because it required the shedding of blood, and it could not procure the final liberation of the soul from the bondage of a material connection. Neither religion nor morality could avail to procure this supreme state. It could only be gained by knowledge, not yet by every kind of knowledge.

Kapila saw the necessity of an examination into the sources of our knowledge. He admitted three such sources:

1. The perception of outward things gained from the senses.
2. The logical faculty or reason of man, by which inferences may be drawn from that which is directly known to other truths which are enfolded in this knowledge, but are not perceptible in themselves.
3. Valid testimony.

The senses can only inform us of specific objects, but he accepted our sense-perceptions as representing a real external

world, which exists in itself, and not merely as a projection of our sensations or thoughts. The Vedantist doctrine, that the matter world is only an illusion was not held by him. Kapila admitted the truth of the perceptions which we receive from the sense. He saw also that their extent is limited by various causes, and that many things do and must exist of which they cannot give us any direct information.

The relation of cause and effect is real and necessary. But causation is not properly a creation of anything. It is only an emanating force. The effect existed fully before and in the cause of which it is only a development or issue; as a stream emanates from, and is thus created by, the fountain from which it springs. In the system of Kapila, a pure creation is impossible. Each individual soul and every particle of matter has existed from all eternity. Nor can either perish. They must exist for ever. The soul in an unconditioned, unchanging, isolated state, and matter, including therein intellect and consciousness, will be absorbed for ever in Nature (Prakriti). Beyond this range something sure known by "valid testimony". He laid down that the soul can work out its own deliverance with out the Vedas.

It is by the logical faculty we attain to the knowledge of Nature (Prakriti) - the oneness from which all material forms have been developed. The Prakriti of Kapila answers to the "while" of schopenhauer. It is itself the undeveloped (avyakta), eternal and in its essence, unalterable. All material existences are only developed modes of the one. In like manner, some of the Greek philosophers inferred, as a necessity of thought, that many forms of sensible objects must be referred to one primeval substance as their source. They affirmed, as Kapila, that this was not one of the gross elements, as fire or water, but an invisible, universal, and formless substance. But they maintained either that this first principle was God, as the Eleatics, or that it was fashioned by an Intelligence superior to this primeval substance, and independent of it. In the system of Kapila no place is found for the plastic hand of an intellectual power in the formation of the world. The one primeval source was simply matter, and in all its developments was wholly unconnected with the working of Mind. It wrought, and for a distinct purpose, but unconsciously, and by a "potentiality" which swelt entirely within itself.

How then did Nature (Prakriti) begin to work? Because, says Kapila, though formless, it has modes or constituents of its being. When these are in a state of equipoise, Nature is at rest. When the equipoise is disturbed, then Nature begins to work. The impelling influence was an unconscious purpose, to free the souls of men from all contact with matter, which is the source of pain. For this purpose it first sent forth intellect (Buddhi) the first born of all created things. Intellect has a faculty of ascertainment. Kapila means by this a determinant power by which the perceptions of sense objects are defined in an ultimate form, that the soul may look upon them and gain a knowledge of their nature. From intellect consciousness or egoism is evolved. It is from this product of thought that a knowledge of the difference between subject and object is gained. But consciousness in emanating from intellect, becomes a separate entity, and the intellect works without any consciousness of its working or of its effects. From egoism or consciousness, spring the manas (mind) the ten organs of sense and action, and the five subtle elements. The manas (mind) is an internal faculty, the door keeper of the senses, which are the doors through which the soul gains a knowledge of Nature. It receives the sensations which the senses give from outward things, and has a formative power. Our sensations hereby become perception and these, passed on to consciousness, become individualised as "mine"; then by the intellect these individualised perceptions become concepts or judgements. In Kapila's system "mind" (manas) consciousness, intellect (Buddhi) are all only forms of developed matter.

The manas (mind) is classed with the ten organs of sense and action from its immediate connection with them. These organs and the manas (mind) together with the five subtle elements out of which the five gross elements are formed, sprang directly from consciousness. Here we seem to have a glimpse of the Hegelian theory that thought and being are one absolutely. As far as the outward world and the inner life of consciousness is concerned, Kapila is a materialist.

In the evolution of the five gross elements from the five subtle forms or elements of matter, and in the general process by which all existing forms have been produced, we have, in a crude form, the doctrine of development. But it is a development not from a lower to a higher state of being, but from a higher or more subtle

state to one more gross, and therefore, more adapted to the senses.

All these productions are only mode developments of Nature (Prakriti). They vary in their kind; as these several modes or constituent elements of Nature are compounded in them, or as one of the other may be the predominant quality. But all these effects are one in their source, in which they were virtually contained, for an effect is only the cause in a state of development. "Exnihilo nihil fit" is an axiom of Kapila.

As the system of Kapila ignored a Supreme being, it sought on to guide and strengthen man by his own unaided power. It did not, however, address itself to all classes of men alike, though it did not leave the lowest wholly without hope. Even Sudras and women might possibly hear some one explain this philosophic system and might receive some benefit from the knowledge thus gained, but it was not addressed primarily to them. It was designed chiefly for those more instructed or more intelligent classes. It was practically opposed to religious observances' prayer is a superfluous act. Because knowledge alone could accomplish more for the soul than the religious rites. On this account it did not commend itself to the general public, like Buddhism. Therefore, it became merged like all protestant movements in India with the existing systems of priesthood and perfidy.⁴⁵

B

Kapila, like Hegel, Feurbach and Spinoza, has his admirers in conservatives and radicals alike. The conservatives see in Kapila undisguised idealism. These are mostly later commentators.⁴⁶ The radicals see in Kapila rank atheism. These are mostly earlier commentators.⁴⁷ The history of Sankhya philosophy is written but not from our angle. In order to estimate the importance of Kapila, we have to distinguish between earlier and later Sankhya. The earlier Sankhya, with all the limitations of the age, is decidedly materialist. The name of Kapila is a synonym for a Hindu materialist of the 7th-6th century B.C.

Kapila formulated his system under three limitations - the limitations of the age in which he lived, the limitation of his class, the limitation of his profession. The age in which Kapila lived, in spite of its intellectual fermentations, is an age of ignorance and superstition. By class he was a Brahmin-the inheritor of the priestly

traditions and class dominance. By profession he was a learned professor. In one sense he transcended all these limitations. In another, he succumbed to them. In an age of ignorance and superstition, crude as it he propounded the theory of evolution. It was a historical necessity. The intellectual fermentations of the age also helped him to formulate his theory: Yet he could not rise above the limitations of the age. In place of God he posited an absolute Nature (Prakriti). He transferred his allegiance from God to Nature. In such a transfer, he became an unconscious materialist.

He transcended the limitations of his class. He condemned sacrifices, religious rites.⁴⁸ He belittled the vedas. He preferred "scientific methods" to "priestly methods", reason to authority, Prakriti (Nature) to Iswara (God). Why? we do not know enough of the history of this period, enough of the hierarchy and dissensions of the Brahmin class, enough of his life, to know what factors influenced his heterodox thinking. Yet he did not wholly condemn the Vedas. He did not wholly deny the Supreme God. He did not wholly deny the idea of transmigration.

He completely transcended the limitations of his profession. He was indeed "a venerable great minded" professor. He was no "Spine-less intellectual". He was no academic mandarin. He was no trafficker in "objective" opium. He was exactly the opposite of modern professors. To him knowledge is a guide to action. Action to him is the attempt of the soul delivering itself from contact with matter. He has no use for knowledge outside of current life. The wisdom of Kapila is beyond stenographic notes, While the wisdom of modern professors lies in their stenographic notes. In this respect he completely transcended his profession. He feared none. He boldly aligned himself with the intellectual currents of the day. Although lofty in tone, separated from the masses, he welcomed the woman and the Sudra to his system of philosophy.

Kapila, though not directly, influenced later thinkers like Buddha and Mahavira. Precise academicians deny this influence. We can't deny that his ideas became incorporated into the later materialist currents of Hindu thought.

Kapila is important in the history of materialist thought in India in another respect. During this period, the Kshatriyas took a leading part in the movements of revolt against orthodoxy.⁴⁹ Amidst

this band of Kshatriya reels, Kapila stands as one of the few Brahmins who transcended his class and aligned himself with the progressive forces of the day. No wonder Sankara late in 7th C.A. thundered against Kapila root and branch.⁵⁰ Nevertheless.

"In due course of time, these heterodox ideas had attained so much weight, and the rationalistic world view had become so dangerous a competitor with the spiritualistic world-view in the intellectual life of the times, that the Brahmin, ever sharp sighted in such matters, regarded reconciliation as more to the purpose than a battle."⁵¹

V

Is Sankhya atheistic? A supreme Deva (God) or Adi Deva (chief God) is never asserted or denied by Kapila. There is a place in his system for any number of subordinate Devas (deities), but there is none for God whether as the creator or as the ruler of all things. There is no direct denial of such a being, no outspoken atheism in that sense, but there is simply no place left for him in the system of world, as elaborated by Kapila. Instead, he had merely put everything that belonged to God into Prakriti (Nature) only that this Prakriti is taken as purely objective, and as working without a conscious purpose.

According to the Sankhya Philosophy everything is conceived as real. Everything proceeds out of something that is real⁵²

There is this difference also between the atheism of Kapila and that of other atheistic systems of philosophy. It is, that Kapila nowhere puts himself into a hostile attitude toward the divine idea. He simply says that there are no logical proofs to establish that existence. Neither does he offer any such proofs for denying it. In this respect, he is like and unlike Kant. Kant rejected all the logical proofs of the existence of deity as insufficient. Here Kapila is like Kant. But Kant based the arguments for his belief in God on purely ethical grounds. Here Kapila is unlike Kant.⁵³

Is it sensuous? Victor Cousin regards Sankhya as representing sensualism.⁵⁴ I do not think it is correct. The extracts above clearly show that it is not sensuous, unless Victor Cousin uses the word "sensuous" as equivalent to "materialist". There is no doubt that the early Sankhya is materialist.

VI

Kapila in many respects reminds us of western thinkers.

He is like and unlike Hegel. Like Hegel he perceived the dialectics between the subject and object. Unlike Hegel, he contraposed the idea of absolute Prakriti (Nature) to Hegel's "absolute idea".

He is like Kant and unlike Kant. Like Kant he perceived the genesis of modern science in his theory of evolution. Like Kant, he did not deduce the existence of God from reason. He is unlike Kant, because he did not deduce the existence of God, even from moral grounds.

He is like and unlike Descartes. Like Descartes he denied the existence of void. He turned upside down Descartes' formula "Cogito ergo sum" to "Sum ergo cogito". Here he is unlike Descartes.

Valentinus the Gnostic divides all men and substances into three classes: the spiritual, the vital, the material, (Hylic). Kapila does the same. He has his theory of Gunas (modes). The Gunas are constituent elements of Nature. All men and substances according to Kapila are divided into three Gunas (modes):

1. Satwa (truthful)
2. Rajas (active or passionate)
3. Tamas (gross or dark)

Some say that this idea was imported into Greece. The Prakriti (Nature) of Kapila corresponds to the will of Schopenhauer. It is a blind unconscious force, or rather a primal substance, with a potentiality of force through the constituent called passion or foulness, out of which conscious life was an unhappy development. We need not be surprised at this coincidence as every one knows that Schopenhauer was greatly indebted to Hindu Philosophy.

In all these ideas, Kapila proceeded western thinkers by several centuries.⁵⁵

NOTES

1. J. Mullen "The religious aspects of Hindu Philosophy" p.46.
2. J. Davies "Sankhya Karika of Iswara Krishna" 1881 pV Garbe agrees with this opinion.
3. Davies op cit p6.
4. For textual histories of these two works see F.C. Thompson "Bhagawadgita" chap, on Sankhya, also Wilson's Ed. of Sankhya Karika.
5. cf. A.B.Keith "the Sankhya system" P 8; A.K.Majumdar "The Sankhya conceptionn of personality" 1930.
6. More of this point is discussed in later sections.
7. Kapila "Sankhya-Pravachana" ch.I Sutras 1-4 Iswara Krishna "Sankhya Karika" Verse I.
8. Kapila opcit chap I Sutras as 6,15,18,19,81; Krishna opcit verses 1-2.
9. Muir "Sanskrit Texts" Vol III. P. 190.
10. Krishna opcit Verses 4-8; Kapila opcit chap.I; Sutras 99, 100, 61-65, 107, 108.
11. Sankhya Karika. Verse 3.
12. Sankhya Karika Verse 10. See also Mullen opcit pp. 198-203.
13. Iswara Krishna "Sankhya Karika" Verse 2. "The revealed (means) are like the visible (i.e inefficient), for they are connected with impurity, destruction and excess. A contrary method is better and this consists of discriminative knowledge.."
14. J. Davies "Sankhya Karika" op cit P 8.
15. S. Radhakrishnan "Indian Philosophy" Vol I p. 472; C. Paul Deussen "The system of the Vedanta" 1912 P 19; R. Garbe "The Philosophy of Ancient India" 1987 P 11.
16. A.B. Keith "Sankhya system" P 27. "It seems best therefore, to draw the conclusion that Buddhism did not draw its inspiration from the Sankhya "
17. Keith opcit PP 25-26.
18. S. Radhakrishnan "Indian Philosophy" vol I P 472. cf. Paul Deussen "out lines of Indian Philosophy" P 36. "Some scholars maintain that the religion of Buddha is an offshoot of the Sankhya system; others that Buddhism is anterior to Sankhya. Both are right."
- cf. Max Mueller "Six systems of Indian Philosophy' P 314 etc. He takes the view that Buddha did not borrow from Sankhya.
19. Max Mueller "Systems of Indian Philosophy" 1899 P I.
20. Sankhya Karika Verses 69, 70, 71.
21. Max Mueller op cit 283.
22. Mueller op cit 287.
23. E. Rover "The Sankhya Philosophy" 1854 P6.
24. S.Das Gupta "A history of Indian philosophy" Vol I 1922 P212.
25. Das Gupta opcit P 212.
26. A.B.Keith "Sankhya System". PP 68-70.

27. Max Mueller op cit P 291.
28. Sankhya Karika Verse 4.
29. Ibid Verse 5.
30. Ibid Verse 6.
31. Sankhya Karika Verse 7. "(This want of perception may be) from excessive distance, too great nearness, destruction of organs, inattention of the mind (manas, minuteness, concealment (by other objects), predominance (of other things) and by intermix with like objects."
32. Sankhya Karika Verse 3.
33. Sankhya Krika Verse 13.
34. Gunas usually translated as "qualities" but they are not qualities. They are the constituent elements of nature (Prakriti). These three qualities, says Colebrook, are not mere accidents of nature, but are of its essence, and enter into its composition."
35. Sankhya karika Verse 12. "The modes(Gunas) have a Joyous, grievous, and stupefying nature. They serve for manifestation, activity and rest they mutually subdue and support each other, produce each other, consort together, and take each other's condition."
36. S.A. Desai "A study of the Indian Philosophy" 1906 PP 191-4. "The Sankhyas are the Indian Evolutionists"
Also, P.Masson—"Oursel". "Esquisee D'une Historie dela Philosophic Indienne" 1923 P 184.
37. Sankhya Karika. Verse 9.
38. Sankhya karika. Verse 56.
39. Ibid Verse 57.
40. Ibid Verse 58.
41. Kapila Sutras: 93—J.R. Ballantyne "The Sankhya aphorisms of Kapila" 1885 P 113.
42. Kapila Sutras 94 Ballantyne opcit P 114.
43. Ibid 95 Ibid p. 115.
44. See Mullen opcit PP 181-184.
Ibid PP 261-281
For "Analyse de la Sankhya Karika" of a French scholarsee Rene Grousset "Les Philosophes Indiennes". Tome I. Le Sankhya Chapitre VI 94-139.
45. Max Mueller "Six systems of Indian Philosophy" 381 etseq. Josep Mullens "The Religious aspects of Hindu Philosophy" PP 45-67. John Davies "Hindu philosophy" PP 101-116, 1881.
See Ibid not C.PP 139-151 on "The Connection of the Sankhya system with the Philosophy of Spinoza"
See Ibid note D.PP 143-151 on "The connection of the system of of Kapila with that of Schopenhauer and Von Hartman."
See Ibid P. 109 on points of contact between Kapila's and Fichte's ideas.
Also Bhandarkar opcit P 70, R. Garbe "The philosophy of ancient India" PP 10-11.
46. Like Gaudapada, Vijnana Bhikshu, Patnanjali etc.
47. Like Iswara Krishna.
48. Kapila is against priesthood. See Max Mueller "Six systems of Indian Philosophy" P306.
49. R. Garbe "philosophy of Ancient India " last chapter "who are the authors, priests or warriors?"

50. For a general exposition of Sankara's refutation of Sankhya See Desai opcit last chapter.
51. R.Garbe "die Sankara Philosophie", quoted by I. Tiwari, "The concept of Purusha in the Sankhya philosophy" in Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Siler Jubilee Vol III Part I P 42.
52. Garbe "Sankhya philosophy" P 202 "The Sankhyas derive what is from what is."
53. Max Mueller "Six systems of Indian philosophy" 1899 PP395-398 See Ibid PP384-386 on 'is Sankhya Idealism?' Cf.R.G. Bhandarkar "Collected works" 1933 Vol.I P 69 "To me however the system of Kapila appears disease an ideal".
54. E.Roer "The Sankhya Philosophy E 1854 PP 1-8 cf. Max Mueller "Six systems of Indian philosophy" P 398 for "is Sankhya without morality?"
55. I am not competent to write this section as my knowledge of western philosophy is that of a layman. Professionals can draw many interesting conclusions from a study of Kapila.

3

**Post-Upanishadic Materialist
Thinkers
(1000-600 B.C.)**

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INTRODUCTION

I

The period that intervenes between the Upanishadic speculations and the advent of Jainism and Buddhism, is what I call "post-Upanishadic Period".¹ The age of the Sophists in Greek philosophy affords the closest parallel to this period.²

We have already noted³ that in the Upanishadic period, there was in existence a large mass of "heretic" or "heterodox" philosophy outside the pale of Brahmanism, perceptibly influencing the trend of its speculation in ways more than one. It owed no allegiance to the Vedic religion of the sacrifice. It was pronouncedly antagonistic to the dominance of priest craft. Before the rise of Jainism and Buddhism, and the close of the Upanishadic period, this bellicose philosophy was expressed in the formula "There can be no activity, no obligation, no effort". As a reaction against this extremism, Jainism asserts its own conviction in the following words: "There does exist such a thing as striving, as activity, as power, as effort, as manliness, or as exploitation."⁴

We find continuance of this mass of heretical literature on a different plane even in this period. Different heretical systems are known to Mahavira and Buddha.⁵ Both literatures confirm the existence of these schools amply. The various scattered statements in the Jain canonical works like the Sutrakritanga, Sthanang Achara, Bhagavati, Nandi, as also texts like Gommatasara enumerate three hundred sixty-three different philosophical views as being known to Mahavira. Therefore, presumably as being current in his day. The Brahmajala Sutta from the Digha Nikaya mentions sixty-two heretical views as being current at the time of Gautama.⁶ What are the characteristics of this period?

If the Brahmanas can be said to have shifted the centre of speculation from the visionary tracks of Cosmology to the comparatively soberer channels of Sacerdotalism, it must be put to the credit of these "heretic" free thinkers that they brought philosophy

into the open and compelled it to concern itself with the daily life and conduct of the people. Philosophy is now meant for the masses, is addressed to the masses, and has a befitting popular style.⁷

To what age can we ascribe this period? Mahavira was born in 599 B.C. and died in 527 B.C.⁸ Parsvanath, the real founder of Jainism was born in 877 B.C. and died in 777 B.C.⁹ Since early Jaina literature mentions these heretical sects, we will not be far wrong in concluding that these sects flourished since about 10th or 9th century B.C. We will be wrong in concluding that these sects did not flourish after Buddha or Mahavira. In Bana's "Harsha Charita we find mention of these sects.¹⁰ These heretical sects lived along side with other systems down to 14th Century A.D. Sarvadarsana Samgraha amply testifies to this. Some of these sects flourish even today in some parts of India. For our purpose the Post Upanishadic period roughly dated from 1000 B.C. to 600 B.C. This period is one of the greatest speculative periods in the history of India.¹¹

POST-UPANISHADIC MATERIALISTS

II

A

It is not necessary to deal with all the heretical schools of this period. We only consider those who distinctly contributed to materialist thought.

One individual philosopher of this age is Ajita Kesa Kambalin. Was nicknamed "of the hair-garment". His opponents characterised his teaching—like a hair garment—as amongst the most disagreeable of things: cold in the cold weather, hot in the hot, and always unpleasant to touch.¹²

In the Samannaphala Sutta and elsewhere the following doctrine is ascribed to the philosopher Ajita:

"There is no such thing as alms or sacrifice of offering. There is neither fruit nor result of good or evil deeds. There is no such thing as this world or the next. There is neither father nor mother, nor beings springing into life without them. There

are in the world no Recluses or Brahmins who have reached the highest point, who walk perfectly, and who, having understood and realised, by themselves alone, both this world and the next, make their wisdom known to others. A human being is built up of the four elements. When he dies, the earthy in him returns and relapses to the earth, the fluid to the water, the heat to the fire, the windy to the air, and his faculties pass into space. The four bearers, he on the bier as fifth, take his dead body away, Till they reach the burning ground men utter forth eulogies; but there his bones are bleached, and his offerings end in ashes. It is a doctrine of fools, this talk of gifts. It is an empty lie, mere idle talk, when men say there is profit therein. Fools and wise alike, on the dissolution of the body, are cut off, are annihilated and after death they are not."¹³

Ajita does not believe in life after death or rebirth. He believes only in four elements, earth, water, heat, wind conceived in a materialistic sense. He denies Soul/Ajita denies the fruit of good and bad actions and consequently morality. He is a Nastika, a denier. He denies sacrifices, and supernatural births. Ajita, in spite of the fact that he was an unbeliever, a denier, led an ascetic life. Not all deniers led a life of libertinism as Pousin thinks.¹⁴

This doctrine of Ajita Kesa-Kambalin is a violent denunciation of both the Brahmanic ritualism and the upanishadic doctrine of the Atman. With evident allusion to previous texts¹⁵ Ajita declares that nothing is real that is not corporeal. As a man, drawing a sword from Scabbard can say "This is the Sword and that is the Scabbard" not so are we able to separate the from the body, pointing out, "This is soul, and that is the body". "His view comes near to the view of the materialists like Charvaka¹⁶ in India, and Epicurus in Greece¹⁷. What Ajita really contemplated was not to identify body with soul, or matter with spirit but to point out that a particular object of experience must be somehow viewed as an indivisible whole¹⁸.

B

Another thinker of this age is Pakudha Kaccayana¹⁹. He was an' elder contemporary of Buddha. He came of a Brahmin family. Buddhagosha tells us that Kaccayana avoided cold water²⁰ and used hot water whenever possible.

The Samannaphala Sutta ascribes the following view to Pakudha:

"The following seven things are neither made nor commanded to be created; they are barren (and so nothing is produced out of them), steadfast as a mountain peak, as a pillar firmly fixed. They move not, neither do they vary; they trench not one upon the other, nor avail aught as to ease or pain or both. And what are the seven? The four elements earth, water, fire, air- and pleasure and pain, and the soul as the seventh. So there is neither slayer nor causer of slaying, hearer or speaker, knower or explainer. When one with a sharp sword cleaves a head in twain, no one thereby deprives any one of life; a sword has only penetrated into the interval between seven elementary substances.²¹

The first part of his view entitles one to call him an eternalist. The second part entitles him to be called a nonactionist.

The act of killing according to Pakudha means nothing but the act of separating from one another the elements of being in their organic unity. Barua thinks that this idea was suggested by a long state of war which existed in the country at that time.²² This idea is repeated in Bhagawadgita.²³ This idea is a fine weapon in the hands of Anarchists.

Both Mahavira and Buddha considered Pakudha's doctrine, a non-action doctrine.

His philosophy is no other than the Parmenidian doctrine of Being. "Nothing comes out of nothing". What is does not perish, from nothing comes nothing.²⁴

Pakudha Sought to explain the whole of experience in the light of seven substances. The concrete existences are the result of the combination of the six or seven substances which perpetual unite and separate/unite by pleasure and separate by pain.²⁵

C

Another individual philosopher of this age is Sanjaya Belatthaputta. He is the father of Indian dialectics. He is said to be the Indian Py/rho. Tradition speaks of him as the former preceptor

of Sariputta and Moggallana, the chief disciples of Buddha counts the school of Sanjaya as a "non-hostile system". The Similarity between his views and the Buddhist and Jaina views write Jacobi, is very suggestive. It favours the assumption that Buddha and Mahavira owed some of their conceptions to the school of Sanjaya. The Samannaphala Sutta ascribes to Sanjaya the following saying:

"If you ask me whether there is another world—well, if I thought there were, I would say so. But I do not say so. And I do not think it is thus or thus, And I do not think it is otherwise. And I do not deny it. And I do not say there neither is, nor, is not, another world. And if you ask me about the beings produced by chance/or whether a man who has won the truth continues, or not after death—to each or any of these questions do I give the same reply."²⁶

Buddha characterises Sanjaya and his school as "Wriggling eels" He says:

"There are some recluses and Brahmins who wriggle like the eels; and who when a question is put to them resort to equivocation, because they fear and abhor being wrong in an expressed opinion, or are afraid of the consequences, or are shy of muting disputants—being too clever, subtle, experienced in controversy, hair splitters who move about breaking to pieces by their wisdom the speculations of other or who are either too dull or stupid to maintain any view, but have always a number of propositions, such as the reality of the world, the rule of chance or fatality, the fruit of Karma, and the permenence of the enlightened Soul, open for discussion."

The Maha Bharata²⁷ Speaks of them saying thus:

"This is neither so nor not-so, nor is it both as also neither (so—and—not-so): so would the followers of the Karma theory explain (away) the objects. Those that believe in the truth look upon everything with an even eye."

Sanjaya Belatthaputta's teaching was mainly negative. The teachings of Gautama and Mahavira are positive. Mahavira changed Sanjaya's formula:

"I cannot say if A is B; I cannot say if A is not - B;

I cannot say if A is both B and not-B; and I cannot say if A is neither B nor not - B."

into:

"I can say that A in-a-sense is B; that A in-a-sense is not-B; that A in-a-sense is both B and not-B; and so on."

This change saved Mahavira's teaching from the charge of unmitigated agnosticism. This agnosticism of Sanjaya did incalculable harm to the interests of orthodoxy.²⁸

Sanjaya like Pyrrho raised scepticism to a scientific doctrine. He thus prepared the way for a critical method of investigation in philosophy. Sanjaya differed from Dirghatamas who was ignorant for the sake of knowledge, just as Pyrrho differed from some of the academic sceptics who doubted in order to know.

The effect of Sanjaya's teaching on the course of Indian philosophy seems to have been two-fold.

1. By suspending his judgements on certain great questions, he indicated that their final answer lay beyond the domain of speculation.
2. He called away the attention of philosophers from fruitless inquiries and directed to the attainment and perfection of mental equanimity.

Both Buddha and Mahavira were unanimous in declaring that there are certain mooted questions of cosmology, ontology, theology and eschatology on which a man is unable to pronounce an opinion constituted as he is. And the questions which they put aside as inscrutable dilemmas are precisely those with regard to which Sanjaya had deliberately suspended his judgements.²⁹

D

Another individual philosopher of this age is Purna kassapa. The Buddhist records³⁰ speak of him as an old experienced and venerable teacher, the head of a religious order, the founder of a school, one who was followed by a large body of disciples and honoured throughout the country.

To him is ascribed the following view:³¹

"To him who actor causes another to act; to him who mutilates or causes another to mutilate; to him who punishes or causes another to punish; to him who causes grief or torment; to him who trembles or causes another to tremble; to him who kills a living creature, who takes what is not given, who breaks into houses, who commits dacoity or robbery, or highway robbery, or adultery, or who speaks lies; to him thus acting there is no guilt. If with a discuss with an edge sharp as a razor he should make all the living creatures on the earth one heap, one mass of flesh, there would be no guilt thence resulting, no increase of guilt would ensue. Were he to go along the South Bank of the Ganges striking and slaying, mutilating and having men mutilated, oppressing and having men oppressed, there would be no guilt thence resulting, no increase of guilt would ensue. Were he to go long the north bank of the Ganges giving alms and ordering gifts to be given offering sacrifices, or causing them to be offered, there would be no merit thence resulting, no increase of merit. In generosity, in self mastery, in control of the senses, in speaking truth, there is neither merit nor increase of merit".

According to Kassapa's view, when we act or cause others to act, it is not the soul that acts or causes others to act. The soul is passive.³² This being the case whether we do good or bad, the result thereof does not affect the soul in the least. His view was exaggerated by King Ajatasattu.³³

His view, extreme as, it is laid a blow at the Brahmanic sacrifices and gifts.

E

Another individual philosopher of this age was Makkhali Gosal. He spent his whole life time in biological researches.³⁴ Buddha represents him to be the worst of all erroneous teachers.³⁵ His teachings had no leanings towards Scepticism or Agnosticism. He went to the other extreme by preaching a down-right Determinism. To him is ascribed the negation of free will. His dialectics unlike Sanjaya's is expressed in the formula "It may be", "It may not be", "It may both be and not be". Here is a specimen of his teachings:

"There is no cause either ultimate or remote for the depravity of beings; they become depraved without reason and without cause. There is no cause either proximate or remote for the rectitude of beings; they become pure without reason and without cause. The attainment of any given condition of any character, does not depend either on one's own acts, or on acts of another, or on human effort. There is no such thing as power or energy or human strength or human vigour. All animals, all creatures, all beings, all souls are without force, and power and energy of their own. They are bent this way and that by their fate, by the necessary conditions of the class to which they belong, by their individual nature; and it is according to their position in the one or the other of the six classes that they experience ease or pain. And it is only at the appointed period after one has passed through the eighty-four hundred thousand periods of wandering in transmigration—that there shall be an end of pain."³⁶

The fundamental thesis of Gosala's physics is Stoic in its nature. It is summed up in the Jaina Bhagavati Sutra and its commentary as the doctrine of transformation, and in the Buddhist texts as the "theory of purification through transformation"³⁷ The term employed by Gosala himself is transormation.³⁸ In reference to Gosala's physics however, we must interpret the expression "purification through migration" as meaning perfection through transformation, which implies for him not only the process of constant change but also a fixed orderly mode of progression and retrogression.

According to Gosala's view the law of change is a universal fact, because all types of things and all species of beings are individually capable of transformation, that is, of elevation or degradation type. According to Gosala's view the world originates and develops from its inherent force or immanent energy. He sought for the explanation of the diversity of appearance, characteristics habits and behaviour of things in nature. He conceived nature as a self-evolving activity. He is the propounder of the doctrine of the change through re-animation.³⁹ He offers for his theory of perfection through transformation three grounds of explanation : Fate or necessity, class or species and nature.

1. Gosala maintains that in the world as a whole all comes

about by necessity. Fate regulates all. All beings, all lives, all existent things, all living substances are without force and power of their own. They are bent this way and that by their fate. That which is to be, must be. That which is not to be cannot be. All things are unalterably fixed. Fixed are the periods of existence, the properties of things and the function of the senses. The nature of action, fortune, wisdom and death is fixed in the case of a being even while he is in the womb.⁴⁰

Gosala conceived the world as a rational purposive order, a system in which everything has that place and function assigned to it which contribute to the well-being of the whole.

2. The attainment of a certain peculiar condition and of a certain peculiar character on the part of all things, all lives, all beings, depends in part on the class or type or species to which they belong. It is partly according to their position in this class or that, that they possess certain special properties, that they have certain physical characteristics, that they inherit certain peculiar habits, develop certain faculties, and so on. Fire is hot. Ice is cold. Water is liquid. Stone is hard. A thorn is sharp. A peacock is painted. The sandal tree possesses fragrance. These are the examples that Gosala gives.
3. Buddhaghosa explains Gosala's term nature as "the peculiar nature of each being."⁴¹ Thus according to Gosala transformation depends upon fate (niyati) species (class: sangate) and nature (bhava). It is to prove this that he resorted to a classification of all beings. He says:

'There are fourteen hundred thousands of principal genera and species, again six thousand others and again six hundred. Thus the sum total is 14,06,600.' "There are forty nine hundred Ajivakes, hundreds of wanderers or Sophists, hundreds of Naga-abodes-or species, 2000 sentient creatures, 3000 infernal states, 36 celestial mundane or passionate grades, 7 classes of animate beings, or being having the capacity to generate by means of separate sexes, 7 of inanimate production, 7 of production by grafting, 7 grades of Gods and of men

and of devils."⁴² This passage indicates Gosala's biological and physical knowledge. It also throws light on the state of those sciences in those days. It indicates that for Gosala there are infinite gradations of existence.

Let us sum up Gosala's teachings :

1. Gosala was the propounder of a doctrine of change through re-animation⁴³ or of a theory of natural transformation⁴⁴ which he came to formulate from the generalisation of the periodical reanimations of plant life. This is the central idea of his system according to Bhagavati's account.
2. He seeks to explain the diversity of the organic world by three principles,⁴⁵ Fate, species, Nature.
3. The organic world is characterised by six constant and opposed phenomena gain and loss, pleasure and pain, life and death.
4. He believes that even a dew drop is so destined as to attain in course of natural evolution to the highest state of perfection in humanity.
5. The theory of progression itself necessitates the classification of the living substances on different methods, and groups them on a graduated scale in different types of existence which are considered as unalterably fixed.⁴⁶

Gosala's teachings aim at demonstrating the futility of human endeavour, and incidentally that of scriptural prescriptions as to gifts, piety, and sacrifice and it was as such more or less opposed to orthodox Brahmanism.⁴⁷ Moral freedom must be freedom of being within the operation of laws. If will is operative it must operate in accordance with the general order of things. This is the same view of Krishna in Bhagawadgita.

CONCLUSION

III

Max Mueller was the first to attempt to assign a definite position to them in the history of the six systems of Indian Philosophy⁴⁸. Rockhill⁴⁹, Spence Hardy⁵⁰, Oldenberg⁵¹ have been content with giving us a mere legendary account of them. Jacobi was the first to call attention to the importance of these teachers.⁵² He thinks that both Buddha and Mahavira owed some of their conceptions to these teachers. Rhys Davids assigns their importance to another sphere. He thinks that these teachers throw a light on the political social conditions of their days.⁵³

No one has yet considered the importance of these schools to materialist thought in India. We are yet too early at the present stage to assign any place to these teachers. When the whole history of materialist thought is written, perhaps we may be able to assign them to their due places.⁵⁴

We have already seen that the period under consideration is the rationalistic age of Indian history. Religious life was undergoing a radical change. It is the formative period which produced great individual philosophers like Gosal, Sanjaya and Kasapa. Philosophy in this period ceased to be a purely academic or ritualistic affair divorced from life and conduct. It developed strong and egocentric personalities. It introduced all manner of strange practices and penances. It came into the open and concerned itself with the daily life and conduct of the people.

The Buddhists and Jains were as hostile to these teachers as the Brahmins. But their criticisms were judicious, particularly those of Buddha. The Jains showed more intolerance than the Buddha. But in one ode of the Jatakas, these teachers are contrasted with Buddha Gautama as a filthy crow in comparison with the painted, well trained, and sweet voiced peacock.⁵⁵ "They all went to hell with their false teachers"—this is the Bhagavati way of estimating those teachers.⁵⁶

We are not considering here the influence of these teachers on Jainism and Buddhism. We will do it later when we consider the "Materialist aspects of Jainism and Buddhism."⁵⁷

What are the precise contributions of these teachers? Ajita represents himself to be a Lokayata. Of the heretical teachers known to Buddhism and Jainism, Ajita is the only one who can be called a Lokayata.

Pakudha's contribution lies in this. He did not make a distinction between body and soul. In this he resembles the Lokayats. The Lokayats admitted only five elements. Pakudha speaks of seven substances. The knowledge of the elements has increased. He too like the Lokayats speaks of existences as the result of combination of elements. But we went a step further than the Lokayats. He insisted upon the situation being seen in its totality and not in isolation. He emphasised the dynamic aspects of the situation.

Sanjaya was a sceptic and an agnostic. He prepared the way for a critical investigation of philosophy. His agnosticism was destructive to orthodoxy. He is dialectical. His dialectics are formal rather than substantive. The whole basis of his scepticism and agnosticism was absence of knowledge. He had not enough knowledge to refute his opponents, nor to propound his views. He was limited by the knowledge of his own day. Hence he resorted to scepticism to refute Brahmanism.

Purna's contribution lies in the denial of the efficacy of gifts and alms-giving. He denied the efficacy of prayers or asceticism. He went to the other extreme of denying responsibility. This idea is an old one. It is exploited by Bhagavadgita with a different turn of meaning.

Goswami was a learned encyclopaedist. He was a biologist, a naturalist and physicist. He made use of the sciences of the day to substantiate his theories. His division of men into species was utilised by Buddha in his denunciation of Caste⁵⁸. He believed in transformation from a low stage to a higher stage. He was a determinist but not of an absolute character. He does not deny freedom within determinism.

All these heretical teachers represent the features of the age in which they lived. They resemble the teachers and preachers in England on the eve of the reformation.

NOTES

1. S.K. Belvalkar and R.D. Ranade "History of Indian Philosophy" Vol.2 Poone 1927 P.445
2. Ibid P.451
3. In Upanishadic Materialist Thinkers.
4. Bhagavati i.3.5.
5. A.Sen "Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature" Calcutta 1931.pp.1 - 4 (This gives the original references to the heretical schools in Jaina literature.)
6. Belvalkar and Ranade opcit Vol.2 pp 445 - 6. T.W.Rhys Davids "Buddhism" Putnam 1896.pp.23-4 "We hear of Lokayats or materialists, who must have preceded Buddhism as they are mentioned in the oldest Buddhist books." Brahmajala Sutta in Rhys Davids "Dialogues of Buddha" Pt. I, pp. 26-75, J.G. Buhler On the Indian Sect of Jains" translated from the German. Edited by J.Burgess. London 1903. PP.46-47 — "It is now recognisable, though preliminarily, in one point only, that the religious history of India from the 5th century B.C. to the 8th or 9th A.D. was not made up of the fight between Brahmanism and Buddhism alone.
7. Belvalkar and Ranade opcit Vol.2 p.460.
8. Ayyangar and Rao "Studies in South Indian Jainism" cited below p. 12.
9. Ibid pp. 13-14 See also Manak Chand Jaini "Life of Mahvira" Allahabad 1908 p.77.
10. Bana "Harsha Charita" translated by E.B.Cowell and F.W.Thomas, London 1897 p.236 (Lokayatikas - materialists are mentioned). (This is a work of 7th century A.D.) P.V.Kane's Introduction to the same text Bombay 1918 p.VI.
Chandrakirti's commentary on Nagarjuna gives us an interesting glimpse of the state of philosophical parties in the 7th century A.D. It mentions Nastikas (materialists, nihilists) as those who deny existence. Madhyamakavrtti 523 quoted in E.J.Thomas "The history of Buddhist Thought" London 1933.p.229.
11. Cf the views of M.S.Ramaswami Ayyangar and B. Seshagiri Rao "Studies in South Indian Jainism". Madras 1922. p.6. "The end of 6th and the beginning of fifth century B.C. a period of great religious activity in northern India."
Barua "Pre-Buddhist Philosophy" opcit p. 189. He places this period around 800-600 B.C.
Cf C.J.Shah "Jainism in North India" (Longmans Green & Co 1932. pp. 13-14 "The period of Indian history when Mahavira lived is called the rationalistic age. Its duration differs with different authors, but generally the limit can be put as between 1000 - 2000BC".
Mrs. S.Stevenson " The Heart of Jainism" 1915.p.3. "About this time too, a wave of religious feeling was making felt in various parts of the world."
12. Anguttara-nikaya, 286; Buddhism, p.86; Oldenberg's "Buddha" p.70 References to a class of ascetics who used to wear hair-garments :

- Digha-Nikaya, 1,167
 Majjhima-nikaya, I, 77, 238,11161,
 Arruttara-nikaya, I 240
 Davids "Dial B" II 231
13. Digha Nikaya i.55
 samyutta Nikaya iii.307
 Majjhima Nikaya 1.515
 Rhys Davids "Dialogues" II pp.73-75.
 14. Poussin "Indian Materialism" opcit p.494.
 15. Like Kaush p.IV.19 or the Anupravesa texts from the Ajita Reya or Chandogya Upanishads.
 16. Belvalkar and Ranade Vol.2 pp.452-453.
 17. B.Barua "A history of Pre-Buddhist Indian philosophy" 1921 p.287-296.
 18. Suttrakritange 2.1. 15-17
 19. Cf. Samyutta-nikaya I p.66 "Pakudhako Katiyano"
 20. Sudmangala-Vilasini I p. 144 quoted in Barua opcit p.282.
 21. Rhys Davids "Dialogues" II.p.74
 22. Barua opcit p.286
 23. Bhagawadgita II 16-24
 24. Suttrakritanga 2.1.22
 25. Law opcit pp.82-85
 26. Rhys Davids "Dialogues" II p.75
 27. Mahabharata Santi Parvan 244,6.
 28. Barua pp.325-332.
 29. Law opcit pp.85-86.
 Barua opcit pp.325-332
 Beivaikar and Ranade Vol II opcit pp.454-456.
 30. Samanna-Phala Sutta Digha-nikaya I.47 (Dialogues of Buddha II.66)
 Malinda-Panho p4; Rockhills "Life of Buddha" pp.80, 96, ff. Bevalkar and
 Ranade Vol II,pp.451-452. Law op cit pp.74-76
 31. Samanna Phala Sutta Digha i 52 Dialogues of Buddha 11.p.70.
 32. Sutra Kritanga I.i.i.13.
 33. Dialogues of Buddha IIpp.69.70
 34. Barua opcit p.3d0
 35. Oldenberg "Buddha" p.70 (Anguttaranikaya Siamese Edition p.302)
 36. Rhys Davids "Dialogues" II pp.71-73.
 37. Digh-Nikaya I.54.V.489; Dialogues of Buddha Part II 72-73.
 38. See Hoernle's translation of the Extract from Buddhagosa's Sumangala -
 Vilasini 1.161 in Appendix II, Uvasaga Dasao: Jacobi's Jaina SutrasPart 2.
 PXXVI.
 39. Barua pp.297-318
 40. Dialogues of Buddha pt.II.72-73
 41. Sumangala Vilasini 1.161
 Cf. Mahabharata XII 229 2ff; Cf Bhagawadgita XI11.27
 42. Quoted in Barua opcit p.306
 43. See Lehmann's translation of the extracts from the Bhagavati XV in
 Rockhill's "Life of Buddha" Appendix II p.251.
 44. Cf. "Digha Nikaya" I lp.53
 45. Niyati-Sangati-Bhava in "digh-nikaya" I.p.53
 46. Barua opcit pp.296-318

47. Belvalkar and Ranade Vol.11 opcit p.458.
for an account of Gosala see Belvalkar and Ranade opcit pp.456-458.
Law opcit pp.76-81. Stevenson opcit p.59f. C.J.Shaw opcit,pp.61-64.
A.Sen "Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature pp.7-13 (contains a Jaina
account of the life of Gosala) Bhagavati Sutra (Agam Sam) 15.539-554.
Cf.Dialogues of Buddha i.71. Kindred Sayings, 90. Gradual Sayings I.29.
48. Max Mueller "Six systems" of Indian philosophy" 1899 p. 117.
49. W.W.Rockhill "Life of Buddha" opcit Appendics I and II pp.249-259
50. R.Spence Hardy "A manual of Buddhism" 1860 pp.290-291
51. H Oldenburg "Buddha" 1914 pp.80-83 (Sophistic)
52. H Jacobi Introduction to Jain Sutras Part II p.XXVIII ff.
53. Rhys Davids "Buddhist India" pp.163-164
54. These teachers are not direct materialists like Lokayats. Yet the views of
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55. Jataka. Fausboll No.339. Vol.III pp. 126-128
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4

Materialist Aspects of the Bhagavadgita

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INTRODUCTION

I

"When you want to read and understand a book, especially a great work like the Gita - YOU MUST APPROACH IT WITH AN UNPREJUDICED AND UNPREPOSSESSED MIND".

"The next thing one has to do is to take into consideration the time and circumstances in which the book was written and the purposes for which the book was written. IN SHORT THE BOOK MUST NOT BE READ DEVOID OF ITS CONTEXT."

'The conclusion I have come to is that THE GITA ADVOCATES THE PERFORMANCE OF ACTION.....'

B.G. Tilak, 'Gitarahasya, pp.232-4.

The Bhagawadgita is unintelligible save in the context of pre-Buddhist philosophical speculations. In it are found concessions to the Vedas.¹ In it are found Upanishadic speculations.² In it are found Sankhya and Yoga.³ It is a medley of beliefs as to the relation between spirit and matter, and as to other secondary matters. It is certain and uncertain in its tone in regard to the comparative efficacy of action and inaction, and in regard to the practical man's means of salvation.⁴ Its patchwork origin explains its philosophical inconsistencies.⁵ yet more apparent than real. It is an assorted cabinet of the philosophical opinions of the day.⁶

The history of Hindu Philosophy confirm Hegel's law of Triadic Development. The Vedas constitute the beginnings of Hindu philosophical speculations.⁷ They represent the first attempt at envisaging reality. The vague cosmological speculations of the Vedas yield to the concrete, material enrichment of priestdom. These two contradictions of the Vedic period - insufficient cosmologies and priestdom with its concrete material bases - paved the way for Upanishadic speculations. The Upanishads represent the second main attempt at envisaging reality. They improved the cosmologies of the Vedas by including elements like fire, water, air and earth.

They rejected the hedonism of the priests by advocating the other extreme of asceticism. This was a necessity on the part of the Upanishadic thinkers in order to undermine priesthood. These attempts constitute the thesis and the anti-thesis of Hindu philosophical development. The Gita represents the third attempt at envisaging reality. It did not reject any of the Vedic or Upanishadic speculations. It violently rejected the school of Lokayats. It followed the track of centrism, or opportunism. It attempted a synthetic unity without elevating the philosophic level higher than the Vedas, or the Upanishads, or the Lokayats.⁸ It did not even choose a "middle way" like Buddha's. It did not reject the Plurality of the Vedas or the Unity of the Upanishads. It admitted the possibility of both/ asserting that complete development of personality is impossible without activism and quietism.⁹

But the Hindu attempts at envisaging reality did not end with the Gita. They continued. The Gita again became the thesis. Buddhism and Jainism became its anti-thesis. They rejected the priesthood of the Vedas, "the soul theories" of the Upanishads and the centrism of the Gita. In their attack they raised the philosophical level higher than any of the previous systems excepting Lokayata. They brought philosophy from the "skies" to the "earth". They represented "a movement of Asiatic Reformation" on a wide scale. Then came Neo-Brahminism, a swing back to the past with its feet in the "existent". The synthetic result is modern Hinduism? The attempts are not yet dead. We find them in the Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj, Maha Jana Sabha, Regeneration of Untouchables, Theosophical movements, Gandhism, Industrialism, and British Rule. Yet reality is not discovered. The Hindu thinkers, in their attempts at envisaging reality, created a structure peculiar to India - is caste system, its ikons, and iconoclasts - a gothic architecture of philosophical systems sublime and ridiculous. The same perennial contradictions run through the ages. One wonders whether Hindu society was ever mobile. It was mobile and immobile; mobile in these protestant sects which formed castes of their own, immobile in those that perpetuated priesthood. This was the reason for the prevalence of innumerable sects and creeds in India. History moves in contradictions. Philosopher Hegel was right, and Indian History is his chief witness.

II

AUTHOR

There is much doubt about the authorship of this work. Most scholars agree that this is not an original poem composed by a single hand, but an ancient work, written and enlarged.¹⁰ By whom was the ancient work written? This is of importance for our purpose. Without being dogmatic, it can be said that this was written by Krishna. That Krishna is not a legendary figure but a historical personage is accepted by modern scholars.¹¹

Very little of historial accuracy is known of him. Krishna was a kshatriya warrior who fought at Kurukshetra. His father's name was Vasudeva, and his mother's Devaki. He had an elder brother named Bala Rama or Samkarsana. He sprang from the ancient Vrisni or Satvata branch of the family of Yadu. Their home was perhaps in the neighbourhood of Mathura.

The Rig Veda has been composed. The Yajurveda was being completed. Sacerdotalism was laying its dead hand on the more simple and joyous faith of early days. Religion was in the grasp of priests. But the Kshatriyas seem to have revolted from the priestly dominance. In Kshatriya circles there grew up a body of speculative thought and mystical doctrine, which later the more spiritually-minded Brahmins themselves were eager to learn.¹² Krishna grew up in such circles and later raised the standard of revolt against orthodoxy. "

We also find that Krishna received instructions from Ghora Angirasa. So records the Chandogya Upnishad. There we read of Krishna, son of Devaki, learning from a priest of the Sun, those lessons of the meaning of sacrifice, the merit of virtue, so inimical to orthodox priests. These appear in the Bhagawadgita. Beyond these dim pictures of Krishna the Warrior, of Krishna the student, no more is known of him.¹³

What are the lessons that Krishna learnt from his master Angirasa? He learnt that

1. the life of man in its various states, and his death, may be compared to the various ceremonies observed in ritual

sacrifices, and that the mystic meaning of sacrifice is the life of man himself;

2. the practice of certain virtues - austerity, liberality, uprightness, harmlessness, and truthfulness—is as effective as the offering of customary gifts to the priests;
3. at the hour of death, a man should think, "Thou art the imperishable, the never-failing, and the very essence of life.

These lessons are indeed revolutionary. Krishna reoriented them in the Gita.¹⁴ In the Gita, sacrifice is interpreted in no narrow ritualistic sense, but ennobled as a constant living attitude. All work for God, rightly performed, is a sacrifice that leads the worshipper to Him. By insisting on the practice of virtues, Krishna aimed at dealing a death-blow to priestdom.¹⁵

III

DATE OF THE TEXT

The date of this text is quite uncertain. Vaidya thinks that the date must be some centuries before 500 B.C.¹⁶ Tilak puts the Gita in about the 4th century B.C.¹⁷ Mangalvedkar¹⁸ Telang, Bhandarkar and Dixit place it in about 400 B.C.¹⁹ Winternitz²⁰ and Hills²¹ assigns 200 B.C. as the period when the Gita appeared in its present form. Gowen writes, "that the date may well have been as late as the second or third century A.D. when Brahmanism was rallying its forces to stem the tide of popular Buddhism."²² European scholars generally place the Gita at the beginning of Christian Era. And it is generally agreed that the matter referred to in the Bhagawadgita belongs to a very ancient period. It is also agreed that the Gita has undergone several interpolations.²³ The Gita may be considered to be a pre-Buddhist work, but many additions have taken place upto as late as the early Christian Era. The later interpolations are entirely Brahmanic. In this way we can account for the inconsistencies in the Gita and for the absence of Buddhist or Jain references.

Since the date of the work is so uncertain we cannot possibly know exactly the social conditions that gave rise to the Gita. We can only infer from the passages in the Gita about the conditions

of those days. The Gita shows the imminence of schism in Brahmanism. It shows the presence of several evils - priesthood, caste supremacy, asceticism-denounced previously by several thinkers. But the most important point in the Gita is the need for the theory before action. This has to be fought. Arjuna must be consoled. His action would contravene existing social laws. How to fight/to obviate this difficulty, Krishna gave his discourse conflicting ideas of the day.

IV

DIATRIBES AGAINST THE MATERIALISTS OF THE DAY

In the Gita we find violent diatribes against the materialists of the day.

Says Krishna to Arjuna:²⁴.

"There are two orders of created beings in this world the Divine and the Devilish; the Divine order has been described at length; of the Devilish, O Son of Pritha, hear from me.

Neither action nor inaction²⁵ do devilish men know; cleanness is not in them; nor even right conduct nor truth.

'without truth,²⁶ without basis²⁷ is the universe,'they say, and without Lord; born of mutual union, caused by lust²⁸ naught else'.

Holding this view, lost souls of feeble judgement, they come forth with cruel deeds as enemies to destroy the world. They turn to desire insatiable, they are possessed of hypocrisy, pride and frenzy; in their delusion they grasp untrue ideas, and do their business, sworn to views impure.

They turn to cares unbounded that end with death.²⁹ Enjoyment of desires they make their goal, assured that that is all. Bound by hundred of bonds of hope, given up to desire and wrath, for the indulgence of their desires they seek unjustly to gather wealth.

This have I gained to-day; this desire I shall attain; this wealth is mine; this also shall be mine hereafter; that enemy have I slain, and others also shall I slay; I am a lord; it is I who enjoy; perfect am I, strong, happy;

Wealthy am I, high-born; what other is like to me? I shall sacrifice, I shall give alms, I shall make merry',-thus speak they, by ignorance deluded.

Led to error by many a fancy, covered with the net of delusion, attached to the indulgence of desire, into foul hell they fall.

Conceited, stubborn, filled with the pride and intoxication of wealth, they offer nominal sacrifices, not in accord with rule, but of hypocrisy.

Turned to the thought of I, to strength and pride, desire and wrath, they hate me in their own and other's bodies, malicious men.

These cruel haters, lowest of mankind and vile, I hurl for ever in birth's cycles into Devilish wombs.

They enter a Devilish womb, in birth after birth deluded; to me they never win. O Son of Kunti, but go thence to the lowest way.

Desire, wrath, and greed—this is the triple gate of hell, destructive of the self; therefore, these three should one abandon.

The man, O Son of Kunti, who from these three gates of darkness is released, works weal for self; thence goes he to the highest way.

He who forsakes the ordinance of scripture³⁰ and lives under the influence of desire, gains not perfection, nor pleasure, nor the highest way.

Therefore, let scripture be thy rule for the determination of right acts and wrong; that work which the scriptural ordinance enjoins thou shouldst know and here perform."

Comment is hardly necessary on these passages. These reveal indirectly the central ideas of the materialists of the day, of course as seen by an opponent. While Krishna tried to reconcile Sankhya and Yoga, he rejected entirely the materialist school. Although he was influenced by that School in his mild attacks on the vedas, sacrifices, the caste system and determinism, he belonged to a more liberal and less Vedic party.³¹ We now examine such liberal materialist and positive aspects of the Gita.

V

MATERIALIST AND POSITIVE ASPECTS OF THE BHAGAWADGITA

Knowledge and action: Theory and Practice

The Bhagawadgita forms part of the Bhismaparva of the Maha Bharata. The Epic is mainly concerned with the struggle for sovereignty between the Kauravas and their cousins, the sons of Pandu. The struggle culminates in the battle at Kurukshetra, where Krishna acts as the Pandava Arjuna's charioteer. On the eve of the battle, Arjuna falters. He hesitates to fight. Krishna encourages him in a long argument, to fight. The argument is the theme of the Bhagawadgita.

When Arjuna falters, Krishna urges him to fight. He reminds him of his Kshatriya duty to fight when the cause is just.³² He tells him of the need for combining theory and practice.³³ At the time when the Bhagawadgita appeared men were so devoted themselves to speculation on metaphysical problems as to exaggerate the efficacy of pure knowledge for salvation (Moksha). Action of every kind was taught, not merely to be an obstacle to leisured contemplation, but positively a bar to liberation. For centuries, some of the Upanishads had taught that TO KNOW is to BE. The of the ascetic aspirant was to know, and not to act. Krishna by no means scorns knowledge. More than once he breaks out into Panegyric on "KNOWLEDGE" and the "KNOWER".³⁴ Yet nonetheless he combats the wide-spread fallacy that the man of knowledge should aim at complete inaction. Inaction is neither right nor possible. Theory and practice, knowledge and work are not opposed, both are, as the learned realise, two sides of one's well balanced mode of life. Knowledge must find its complement in work. Its function is to bring all work to true fulfilment.³⁵

Krishna again and again urges Arjuna to action. He combines the knowledge-method of Sankhya with the work-method of Yoga. Some kind of work is inevitable. It is only by doing his duty that a man can reach that perfect state when action no longer hinders liberation. Theory is useless without practice. Without work life

cannot be sustained. So work is better than inaction.³⁶ Perfection is attained only through work.³⁷ Work should be done for the sake of example.³⁸ The wise and ignorant alike must work. All through his argument Krishna urges Arjuna into work, into action. We wonder that Tilak³⁹ and Aurobindo⁴⁰ saw in the Bhagawadgita nothing but action.

(B) ATTACK ON THE VEDAS

In his further argument with Arjuna, Krishna makes some interesting observations on the Vedas. The Vedic path is fraught with uncertainty and doubt. Here Krishna is repeating his predecessors, Kapila and Brihaspati. Krishna speaks with contempt of the "flowery speech" spoken by witless fools who see nothing beyond the Vedas. For THE VEDA IS CONCERNED WITH MATERIAL REWARDS.⁴¹ It brings no message to this fleeting and illusory world. Krishna does not blame the Veda. He accepts it for what it is. He only blames these fools who cannot see that beyond, and including, the Vedic realm lies higher truth. They say "There is naught else."⁴² The Veda is like "a tank flooded with waters from all sides." The tank itself is small and bounded by its shores. From all sides there flow the boundless waters that cover it. Why should a wise man use nothing but the tank when all these waters are at hand from which it draws its limited supply? So too, in ancient days when only the teaching of the Veda was available, it served its purpose. But now a higher all inclusive knowledge has dawned, a wisdom offering deliverance from this transitory world. Krishna therefore urges Arjuna to rise superior to the Vedic realms. Here we have a sedate protest against the Vedas:

1. The Vedic path is fraught with uncertainty and doubt.
2. The Veda is concerned with material rewards.
3. The Vedas served a historical purpose, and are now no longer adequate for the present needs.⁴³

At the same time, the Vedas are not absolutely rejected by Krishna. They may have many uses for a prudent Brahmin.⁴⁴

(C) FREE WILL VERSUS DETERMINISM

Krishna expounds another doctrine in the course of his argument with Arjuna. His discourse on nature and duty is interesting.⁴⁵ According to Krishna, duty is conditioned by nature. It is the nature of Kshatriyas to fight for a just cause. Therefore, being a Kshatriya, it is Arjuna's duty to fight. A man must do the duty which his own nature bids him do. Each man possesses his own special nature whose prompting it is idle to defy. All existences follow their nature, and what shall coercing it avail? Even the man of knowledge acts according to his own nature. Better is one's own law of works, though in itself faulty, than an alien law well wrought out. Death is one's own law of being is better, perilous is it to follow an alien law.

This idea is exploited by the defenders of the caste-system. The idea they deduce, by way of an implication, is the acceptance of the order which a man inherits. This is not what Krishna meant. By nature, Krishna meant" nature as self-determined in this determinism, man is yet free to act. Consciousness is an instrument of nature when it acts. Nine-tenths of freedom of will is a palpable fiction. The will acts not by its own self-existent action at a given moment, but by the past, heredity, training, environment, and the whole complex thing called Karma. The whole nature plus the man determine what the action is at a given moment. Nature forms in man and within man. It is mixed up with other determining elements.⁴⁶ The will of the ego is a will determined by matter. It is a part of the nature as it has been formed in us by the sum of its own past action, and self-modification. The nature and will in men so formed determine our present action. There is no first action in nature which has no determining past behind. Even passivity, refusal to will, is itself a choice of nature.⁴⁷ The very form of the Gita implies that Arjuna is free to choose. When Krishna has finished his teaching he says:

This knowledge have I taught thee....fully consider
this; then AS THOU WILT, SO ACT."⁴⁸

Yet at the same time he tells Arjuna that it is a delusion to think that he is a separate individual agent.⁴⁹ There is freedom in the Gita, but it is a freedom working within the bounds of an ultimate determinism.

Orthodox students of the Bhagawadgita vulgarised this revolutionery side of Krishna's teaching. They cited these very passages for the defence of the caste-system and of fatalism. Krishna emphasised without doubt that within determinism there is free will (choice). The will is limited. Yet it acts. If this is the case, nature and conduct vary. They are not fixed. As nature changes, so does will, so does duty. If this interpretation is adhered to, the whole edifice of the caste-system will go over board.

Krishna is dialectical. Will is free. It is non-free at the same time. Work, and do not work.⁵⁰ Sacrifice, yet do not sacrifice.⁵¹ Reject the Vedas, yet do not reject them those that are useful. True renunciation, and true performance are not opposed.⁵² They are one and the same. Asceticism is not done away with by Krishna. He prescribes a temperate method.⁵³ In this way in Krishna propounds his doctrine.

(D) ATTACK ON THE CASTE-SYSTEM

Krishna's discourse on the caste-system is also vulgarised. Nowhere in the Gita does Krishna speak of caste by birth, he speaks of castes formed according to nature. No one is free from the influence of three strands (gunas, qualities). This is an old idea. Even the Greeks held this idea. Plato, too, held this idea. These three qualities are purity (Sattva) Energy (Rajas) and Darkness (Tamas). A man acts according to the predominance of strand in him. A Brahmin is one in whom the Purity strand is predominant. A Kshatriya is one in whom the Energy strand is predominant and soon.

Duty is conditioned nature. This is all that Krishna says. He does not speak about the birth of caste. If a man be born a Brahmin, yet the Purity any not be predominant in him. It is the same with Kshatriyas. All that Krishna says is, "Act according to nature." Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra are terms by which Krishna depicts the various strands in people.⁵⁴ He added that performance of duty conditioned by nature leads to perfection.⁵⁵ This point if rightly understood is a mild attack on the caste system. But orthodox students falsified Krishna's teaching for their own ends.

(E) KRISHNA'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

Krishna throughout the discourse followed the track of centrism. He was afraid to reject the traditions. Yet he made serious inroads upon their validity. He reconciled theory and practice, work and no work, free will and determinism, sacrifice and no sacrifices, asceticism and no asceticism. He followed a pseudo-dialectical, compromising method throughout. But in one thing he was consistent, in that he was pitted against out and out materialists.⁵⁶ At times he was vague and uncertain, with all these defects, his contributions to Indian philosophy are revolutionary. They are these.

1. He emphasised knowledge and action. This is the leading idea of his work.
2. He emphasised THE UNITY OF THEORY AND PRACTICE. This corresponds to the Marxian idea of unity of theory and practice.⁵⁷
3. He DID NOT DENY THE ROLE OF WILL. Yet he stated clearly that will itself is determined. He underlined this idea. This also corresponds to the Marxian idea of will.⁵⁸ To Krishna the individual is real and important; yet he is bound by nature.
4. He attacked the vedas mildly.
5. He did not speak of the caste-system as one resting on birth, but as one based upon individual differences and qualities. Here too, he mildly attacked the caste-system.
6. He preached toleration.

If Krishna had not followed the track of centrism, if he had attempted a reconciliation of the opposites—a unity of the opposites he would have checked the progress of Brahminism. Buddha chose a middle way. Krishna chose a centrist way in their own ways contributed to the movement of materialist and positive thought in India.

VI

INFLUENCE OF THE BHAGAWADGITA ON CONTEMPORARY POLITICS

The influence of orthodox texts on contemporary politics is not unusual in India. Ram Mohan Roy took his stand on the Vedas.⁵⁹ Although the Brahma Samaj later rejected them.⁶⁰ According to Roy, the Vedas sanctioned no idolatry, taught monotheism ignored caste, prohibited the burning of widows, He was a reformer. He had to fall back on a text and he found it in the vedas.⁶¹ At that time Vedic learning has at a low ebb.⁶² Right or wrong. Roy took his stand on the Vedas.

The Vedas also influenced the Arya Samaj. In spite of the advance made in vedic learning, and due to ignorance of English, Dayananda declared his belief in every word and letter of the Vedas. To him, not only was everything that was contained in the Vedas perfect truth, but he went a step further; others that everything worth knowing even the most recent inventions of modern science were alluded to in the Vedas. Steam-engines, railways, and steam boats - all were shown to have been known, not least in the germ to the roots of the Vedas, for Veda, he argued, means divine knowledge, and how could anything have been bid from that?⁶³

It is not necessary to refute these assertions. The Vedas, as Krishna says in the Bhagawadgita, are of "flowery speech,". They speak of "material rewards." They contain hymns of class and race war against Dasyas.⁶⁴ There is nothing sacred in the Vedas. but vulgar pretensions of a Brahmanic oligarchy.⁶⁵ Yet this movement took its stand on the Vedas. It became a romantic anti-Western movement, and in some respects a reforming movement.

The Vedas influenced Tilak. His researches into the antiquity of the Vedas commanded the admiration of European scholars. Most of Tilak's views are not rejected⁶⁶

To Gandhi, the Vedas constitute the sum of human knowledge.⁶⁷

B.C. Pal finds the work Swaraj interpreted in the Vedas.⁶⁸ Just as Dayananda saw modern science in the Vedas, so Pal saw swaraj in them. This shows the ridiculous length to which these men have gone to bolster up their causes.

Like the Vedas, the Bhagawadgita influenced contemporary political thought in India variously. Gandhi writes that the New Testament really awakened in him the tightness and value of Passive Resistance, and that the Bhagawadgita deepened this impressions.⁶⁹ The spirit of the sermon on the Mount competes almost on equal terms with the Bhagawadgita for the dominion of his heart⁷⁰. He writes: "Nothing delights me so much as the music of the Gita or the Ramayana by Tulsi Das, the only two books in Hinduism may be said to know. When I fancied I was taking my last breath the Gita was my solace"⁷¹. He agrees with the Bhagawadgita as the masses. He might have seen the verification of his statement in his own case. A vaisya by birth, a lawyer by profession, a religious orthodox reformist leader by dint of circumstances, he won the masses, still under the influence of the religion to his cause.⁷² No wonder he freely renders a verse of the Bhagawadgita into meaning that masses follow classes. Gandhi saw in the Bhagawadgita not only a replica of the Bible, but an instrument to lead the masses in his own way in the name of religion.

Tilak studied the Bhagawadgita in a different light. Of all the leaders in India, Tilak stands pre-eminent as a gifted revolutionary leader. He was the first to break the amiable Indian National Congress from its traditional and academic methods and to root it in the masses. It was in 1907 at Surat on the question of self-government for India within the British empire.⁷³ He was the first to coin the word "SWARAJ."⁷⁴ He was the first to bring "agitation and propaganda" as the right methods for the popularisation of political ideas to the masses.⁷⁵ He was the first to reorient traditional literature for revolutionary purposes in a popular language.⁷⁶ He was the spokesman head of nationalism which is wholly based on Hinduism.⁷⁷ To Tilak also is due the conversion of the Congress to the doctrine of boycott as a means of securing self-government (Swaraj).⁷⁸ Above all he is the first to bring "action" to the forefront of Indian politics.

For his theory of Action he resorted to the Bhagawadgita. to him it is a song of "action", He says:

"Merely reciting Sivaji's story like a lord does not secure independence.⁷⁹ It is necessary to be prompt in engaging in desperate enterprises like Sivaji and Baji, knowing you good people should take up swords and shields at all events now. We shall cut off countless heads of enemies. Listen, we shall risk our lives on the battle-field in a national war. We shall shed upon the earth the life-blood of the enemies who destroy our religion. We shall die after killing only, while you will hear the story like women."⁸⁰

Like the Brahmins of yore, who advised the masses to take up arms against an unjust ruler.⁸¹ So does this Maratha Brahmin advocate armed resistance to foreign rule by the masses. Like Krishna in the Bhagawadgita, he advises the masses to wage a national war against the English. He says, This is called Hindustan. How is it that English rule here?"⁸²

On one occasion, he said:

"Did Sivaji commit a sin in Killing Afzalkhan or not? The answer to that question can be found in the Mahabharata itself. Srimat Krishna's advice in the Gita is to kill even our own teachers and our Kinsmen. No blame attaches to any person if he is doing deeds without being actuated by a desire to reap the fruits of this deeds."⁸³

This is exactly what Krishna told Arjuna⁸⁴ Tilak interpreted the Gita as suited to the contemporary political situation in India. Again he said:

"Do not circumscribe your vision like a frog in a well; get out of the Penal Code and enter the extremely high atmosphere of the Srimat Bhagawadgita and consider the actions of great men."⁸⁵

Here he expressed the opinion that great men were above the common principles of morality. In this way the Bhagawadgita contributed to the revolutionary movement of the middle classes in India.⁸⁶

The Gita influenced other leaders more in their private lives than in their public ones. It is said of Malaviya that he could not make a speech in the Legislative Assembly without quoting a verse from the Gita.

The Gita is important even today if rightly interpreted for the situation in India. In this respect Tilak is still unexcelled.⁸⁷

NOTES

1. Like concessions to sacrifices, etc. But Krishna gave a different interpretation to the work "Sacrifice".
2. Like insistence on action being done without any regard for the fruit; Isopanishad Verse 2; Ch U IV. 14.3; B U IV. 23; and Mai U. IV.20.
See R.G. Bhandarkar: "Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious systems," Collected works, Ed. by N.B. Utigikar Vol. IV pp.378.
3. R.G. Bhandarkar: op.cit., p.38; "Besides the Upanishads and the religious and moral atmosphere prevalent at that time, the Gita avails itself of the philosophy and had come into existence in early times. This is the philosophy of Samkhya and Yoga." See Bhagawadgita, Chapters II, III, IV.
4. Cf. E.W.Hopkins: "Religions of India," 1908, p.390
5. Cf. Ibid. p.400.
6. Cf. Ibidp.399
Bhandarkar, op. cit., p.39. "Bhagawadgita is the result of development of the religious and philosophic speculation that prevailed before the rise of Buddhism".
7. B. Barua: "A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy," 1921 p.5
8. Almost all speak of the synthetic nature of the Gita. See Aurobindo Ghose, "Essays on the Gita", Vol. I., 1926 pp. 9-10. M. Rangacharya, "Bhagwadgita," p.5.
Aurobindo Ghose: "Essays on the Gita," First Series, p.96 "The Gita in its foundation is a Vedantic Work."
Ibid, p. 115: "...the Gita founds its synthesis of Vedanta, Sankhya and Yoga, its synthesis of knowledge, work and devotion."
9. D.O. Vadekar "Bhagawadgita," 1928, pp.37-40
10. W. Douglas P.Hill: "Bhagawadgita," 1928, Introduction P.14,
11. See for a discussion, whether Krishna was a mythological or historical figure; and for references - Hill: op.cit. p.4-5; Aurobindo Ghose, "Essays on the Gita" 1st Series, 2nd Edition, 1926. He does not deny that there existed an historical Krishna (pp. 19-20). But he regards the author of the Bhagawadgita as God himself descended into humanity (p. 15)
12. Hill, op. cit., p.8.
13. Hill op. cit., p.9
14. Hill, op. cit., pp. 5-6
15. H. Ray Chaudhuri: "Materials for the Study of Early History of Vaishnava Sect," 1920, pp.48-50.
See Bhagawadgita XVI, 1-3; VIII, 11-13, 1.21; XI, 42; XVIII, 73.
16. C.V. Vaidya: "History of Sanskrit Literature". IV Section pp.34-46
17. B.G. Tilak: "Gita Rahasya," p.564.
18. See for a discussion in V. Mangalvedkar, "The Philosophy of Action," 1928 P.XIIV ff.
19. I.D. Vadekar: "Bhagawadgita," p.5
20. Winternitz: "History of Indian Literature," pp.437-438.

21. Hill: op. cit, pp. 17-18.
22. H.H. Gowen: "A history of Indian Literature," 1931, p.236.
23. See for opinions of Garbe, Winternitz, and other Scholars in Vaidya, "Sanskrit Literature," 4th Section, p.23.
24. Hill op.cit., pp.244-8 (chap. 16. verses 6-24).
25. Sankara, one of the comentators of this text writes: "Neither those acts which ought to be performed to achieve the end of man, nor those acts from which they should abstain to avert evils."
26. This is said to mean that no reliance can be placed on the truth of the Vedas and Puranas.
27. With no moral government, the "basis" is either "right or wrong" according to Sankara, or "Brahma according to Ramanuja another commentator of the text.
28. Sankara notes: "This is the view of the Lokayatikas (realists), that sexual passion is the sole cause of all living creatures."
Thomson following schlegel, whose view is defended Lassen, translates: "They deny that the Universe.... has in certain in succession, or anything else, save that it for the sake of enjoyment."
Davies notes: They deny such a succession in the order of development or creation, as the Samkya or Yoga system taught with nothing. Sankara writes: 'Arising the no serial order, but desire for its motive force.'
29. Davies translates, "They ignore everything beyond death caring only for the enjoyments of the present world."
30. Sastra is a wide term which may include the Vedas and the Dharma Sastras. The materialists deny the Scriptures. Hence this polemic against them.
For Ramanuja's commentary on this part of the text, see: Iswaradatta, 1930, pp.302-308.
For Sankara's commentary see, Bhagawadgita by A. Mahadeva Sastrri, Part 1. 1897: pp.287-292.
31. J.C. Thomson: "Bhagawadgita," 1855, p.XLIV.
32. Bhagawadgita, ii. 31-38
33. Ibid, ii. 39.
34. Ibid, iv, 35-41.
35. Aurobindo Ghose: "Essays on the Gita," 1st series, p.98. "Action in the Gita is a permanent foundation."
See also, Ibid, 2nd series, p.467.
36. Bhagavadgita, iii. 3-8.
37. Ibid, iii, 17-20 a
38. Ibid, iii, 20b-26
39. B. G. Tilak, "Srimad Bhagavadgita Rahasya" or "Karmayoga Sastra," 1910, 11. Tilak wrote this while he was in prison. He placed action in the forefront of the Gita doctrine.
40. Aurobindo Ghose : Essays on Gita," 2nd Series, last 2 chapters. According to him, the core and message of the Gita is action. Bhagawadgita, XVIII, 18. "Knowledge and action are closely connectd..."
41. Bhagavadgita, ii, 43
42. Ibid, ii, 42.
43. Bhagawadgita, ii.40-46.

44. Ibid, ii. 46
45. Ibid, Hi, 33-35.
Aurobindo Ghose: "Essays on Gita," 2nd series, p.318.
46. See Aurobindo Ghose: "Essays on Gita," 2nd edition, 2nd series, pp.324-325.
47. Aurobindo Ghose: "Essays on Gita," 2nd series, pp. 328-329.
48. Bhagwadgita, XVIII, 63.
49. Ibid, XVII, 59-61.
50. Ibid, IV, 16-23.
51. Ibid, IV, 25-23
52. Ibid, VI, 1,2.
53. Ibid, VI, 10-17.
54. Bhagawadgita, XIII, 40-49.
55. Ibid, XVIII, 45-49.
56. Ibid, XVI, 6.
57. J. Stalin: "Leninism." Vol.1, pp.94-95.
58. V.I. Lenin: "Collected works, Iskra Period," Vol.11, p.67 "That ideologists (conscious leaders) cannot divert the movement is to ignore the elementary truth that CONSCIOUSNESS PARTICIPATES....IN CREATION".
For a discussion of role of will in Marxism, see: T.B.H. Brameld, "A Philosophic approach to communism," 1933, pp.38-40.
59. Max Mueller: "Biographical Essays," 1884-1900, 18-21.
60. Ibid, p.40, 168 "In 1850 the Brahma Samaj Solemnly pronounced the de-thronement of the Veda".
61. Ibid pp. 18-19.
62. ibid, p. 19.
63. ibid, p. 170 f.
64. Rig Veda (Griffith's) Book I; Hymn 33, Verases 4,9. These hymns are addressed to Indra to destroy wealthy Dasyas and those who differed from their religious practices. Indra is a wealth-giver to these poets of the Rig Veda.
65. Compare the strictures of Lokayats on the Vedas.
66. B.G. Tilak : "Orion on the Antiquity of the Vedas." (Of the European scholars, Jacobi is the only one who accepted Tilak's researches. For a discussion, see C.V. Vaidya, "History of Sanskrit Literature," 1930, Vol. I pp. 29-40. Tilak has written another work, "The Arctic Home in the Vedas," 1925)
N.C. Kelkar: "Life and Times of Lokamanya Tilak," 1928, pp.436-470. G. Buhler : "Notes on Jacobi's Age of the Vedas and on Tilak's Orion" in Indian Antiquary, Vil.23, 1894, pp.238-2
67. Gandhi : "Speeches and Writings," p. 1054, "I believe in the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Puranas and all that goes by the name Hindu Scriptures."
68. B.C. Pal: "Nationality and Empire," 1916. pp.33-34
69. M.K. Gandhi : "Speeches and Writings." (4th edition. Notes on Madras) p.161.
70. Gandhi : "Speeches and Writings," op. cit., p.338.
71. Gandhi: Ibid., p. 1058 (This essay on "Hinduism" reveals his reactionary conception of Hinduism and its political significance.)
72. Gandhi: Ibid., p.342.

73. The first open rupture between the followers of Gokhale and those of Tilak took place at the Benares meeting of the Congress in 1905, and the final schism at the Surat Congress of 1907 when the meeting dissolved in disorder. "Political India," 1932, edited by John Cwmming, (Sir Evan Cotton, "Some Outstanding Political leaders.") p. 187. For the description of this incident, see : A.C. Mazumdar, "Indian National Evolution," 2nd series, 1917, pp.104-113. See also, H.P. Modyz, "Sir Pherosha Mehta," 1921, Vol. II, pp.519-557.
Cf. B.G. Tilak : "Speeches and Writings," p.210. He says the split was due to differences of opinion as to method of work rather than to divergance in ideals.
Aurobindo Ghose : "An appreciation of B.G. Tilak" (in B.G. Tilak's Writings and Speeches, 3rd edition, Madras, 1922, p.6 : "The Congress movement was for a long time purely occidental in its mind, character and methods confined to the English-educated few founded on the political rights and interests of the people read in the light of English history and European ideals; but with no roots either in the past of the country or in the inner spirit of the nation. Mr. Tilak was the first political leader to break through the routine of its somewhat academical methods to bridge the gulf between the present and the past, and to restore continuity to the political life of the nation. He developed a language and spirit, and he used methods which indianised the movement and brought into the masses,")
74. J. Coatman : "Years of Destiny," 1932 p.89. "He also was first to conceive and organise consistent action directed towards the achievement of nothing less than Home Rule for India." "The word Swaraj now so well known as the synonym for Home Rule was coined by him, and his criticism was directed against the very bases and sanctions of British Rule in India."
Cf. B.C. Pal : "Nationality and Empire," pp.33-4. "This word Swaraj, recently introduced into our current political literature by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, though evidently borrowed, from the political records of the Maharatta confederacy"
Tilak, as a Marathi brahmin, might have discovered that word in those records. Gandhi, "Speeches and Writings," p. 1014, says - "The inspiration of his life was freedom for his Country which he called Swaraj : " p.1017, "He breathed into us the spirit of Swaraj."
75. Aurobindo Ghose : "Appreciation," op.cit., p.7 - "To bring in the mass of the people, to found the greatness of the future on the greatness of the past, to infuse Indian politics with Indian religious fervour and spirituality are the indispensable conditions for a great and powerful political awakening in India. . . .Mr. Tilak was the first to bring it into the actual field of practical politics."
See Ibid., p.11, for his ability to unite all classes of men behind him, particularly the masses.
76. See Report of the Sedition Committee, 1918, pp.2-3.
77. Cotton, op.cit.,p.186.
78. Ibid.,p.187.
79. Cf. J. Stalin's remark, "Independence is not a gift." Lenin's Vol. I, p.277.
80. Quoted in Report of the Sedition Committee, p. 2.
81. Mahabharata, Rajadhrm santi Parva; 78. In reply to the question of

Yudhisthira as to "Who would protect the Brahmins and their Vedas, if all the Kshatriyas proved hostile to the Brahmins; and what then should be the duty of the Brahmins and who would be their refuge?" Bhishma says : "By penances, by Brahmscharya (vow of celibacy), by weapons, and might applied with or without the aid of deceit, the Kshatriyas should be subjugated ... All persons should take up arms for the sake of Brahmins ...

82. Quoted in Sedition Committee Report, p.2.
83. Quoted in Sedition Committee Report, p.3,
84. Bhagawadgita, IV, 16-23.
85. Quoted in Sedition Committee Report, p.3.
86. Sir R.V. Lovett: "The rise of an extremist Party." in Cambridge History of India, Vol. VI. p.552.
87. For a summary of Tilaks Giarahasya in English, see : V. Mangalvedkar, "The Philosophy of Action," 3rd ed., Madras, 1928.

5

**Materialist Aspects of
Prabodha Chandrodaya'**

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1 INTRODUCTION

A. AUTHOR AND DATE OF THE WORK

In tracing the history of the development of Indian Philosophy, "Prabodha Chandrodaya"¹ can not be ignored. But the allied researches, linguistic, historical and philosophical had not been sufficiently advanced even at this stage, which enable us to place the philosophical systems described therein, in their due place. In this work we are interested in materialist thought, although it cannot be discussed apart from the other systems of philosophy.

The author of this work is Krishna Misra of Mithila.- He is considered to be one of the greatest scholars and philosophers of his time.² Colebrooke calls him 'Krishna Pandita'³. He is a brahmin, an Advaita Vaishnavite. Beyond this very little is known of him.

The exact date of this work is also not certain. H.H. Wilson, writing in 1828, places this work along with "compositions of a period at least preceding the tenth century"⁴ Taylor, writing in 1886, acribes it to the 7th Century A.D. He speaks of one "Kirti Varman, the Rajah of Magadha, who flourished in the year 648 of the christian era."⁵ There are several Kirti Varmans in the history of India, the northern Rajput Chandella Kings of the period of 11th C.A.D. and the southern Chalukya Kings of the 7th C.A.D.⁶ Is Taylor referring to the Chalukya Kirti Varman? When he has mentioned the Rajah of Magadha he can not be referring to a Chalukyan. Weber places it at the end of the 10th C.A.D.⁷ Since about the beginning of this century scholars have come to assign a specific date to this work. A.A. Macdonell thinks that it dates about the end of 11th century.⁸ Both Vincent A.Smith and A.B. Keith trace it to the reign of one Kirti Varman. Smith fixes the date of this king to the period of 1049-1100 A.D.⁹ Farquhar and irswold date it to 1065 A.D.¹⁰ A.B. Keith believes that it can be dated with precision to 11th C.A.D.¹¹ An inscription bearing the name of Kirtivarman, Kambatta King of Jejkbhukti has the date of 1098 A.D. On the basis of this inscrip-tional evidence it can now be regarded that this is the work of 11th C.A.D.¹²

Very little is known of this kirti varman. This period in Indian history is a period of transition from the dissolution of the Hindu Empires to the establishment of Muhammadan power in India. Both in the North and South of India this period corresponds to the period of struggle between several independent powers and principalities for supremacy. This Kirti Varman belongs to the Chandela Rajput tribe. We hear that kings have been great builders of 'temples and lakes' and have encouraged a policy of religious toleration.¹³ V.A. Smith writes that this work, 'Prabodha Chandrodaya' has received royal encouragement, which reflects the religious policy pursued by this Rajput dynasty.

B. THE NATURE AND OBJECT OF THIS WORK

This work is primarily an allegorical drama, in which the Dramatis Personae are persons like Charvaka, Buddhist and Jain and others, and qualities like Prudence, Virtue, Pain etc., Macdonell writes that "abstract notions and symbolical figures act like persons" This design is this. According to the author, the one excelling philosophy is Vedanta. Under its auspices all other systems flourish or exist side by side. At the same time, the scenes and dialogues are arranged in such a way that the merits of each system of philosophy are discussed in the dialogues. The drama is represented as a great battle - a philosophical battle - in which the combatants are the various philosophical parties, upholders of their respective systems. We get even at this early period a picture of philosophical parties.....each pursuing its end. Farquhar puts it this:

'The philosophy is pure Advaitism. The scenes in which followers of Buddhism, Jainism, Materialism, The karma Mimamsa, the Sankhya, Yoga and Nyaya philosophies and the Kapalika form of Saivism are represented in discussion with one another, are among the most vivid and interesting in the play. In the great battle the Buddhists, the Jains and the Materialist Lokayats or Charvakas range themselves with Kama and the Vices under their general Moha, while Vaishnavas, Saivas and Sauras gather round the goddess Saraswati, and are aided by all the six orthodox philosophies and by grammar and the virtues to inflict a signal defeat on the atheist host. When the question is raised how these ever hostile

Hindu disputants brought themselves to any common action, a sufficient reason is found in hostility to the common foe, and we are to that wise/perceive that the orthodox sects and philosophies are only seemingly opposed to each other, that in truth they all celebrate the one reality. So far as the writer knows, this is the first time the idea of the inner harmony of the Hindu systems finds expression in Hindu literature.¹⁴

The ideas of Farquhar are in the main correct. The various philosophical parties, in the need for co-existence of their separate identities have come to common action by alliance with those parties more suitable to their ends and aims only when views of atheism dominate. This is the philosophical prototype of the political science (practice) of the times. Farquhar's assumption of the "inner harmony of the systems" is not quite correct. It is the mutual recognition of the claims of the respective systems to exist side by side, provided they do not disturb the Vedic pantheon prototype of the political pantheon, or political order. The idea of toleration is as old as Buddhism, both in theory and practice. It found its concrete practical expression in the Empires of Asoka and Harsha. Max Muller has grasped the essence of these systems better. He wrote: "They (the Hindus) have no word for orthodox; nay, we saw that some of these systems, though atheistic, were nevertheless, treated as permissible doctrines, because they acknowledge the authority of the Veda. Vignana Bhikshu, a philosopher of considerable grasp, while fully recognising the difference between the six systems of philosophy, tried to discover a common truth behind them all, and to point out how they can be studied together, or rather in succession, and how all of them are meant to lead honest students into the way of truth."¹⁵ "Nay, in spite of all that has been said against Vijnana Bhikshu, I cannot deny that to a certain extent he seems to be right in discerning a kind of unity behind the variety of the various philosophical systems, each being regarded as a step towards the highest and final truth."¹⁶

Taylor, who has done pioneering work on this text, has made many inaccurate statements concerning the design of the play. The object of the author is certainly to "awaken in the people a spirit of enquiry into the principles of Vedantic philosophy". It is not so much as to "expose, ridicule and contradict the ideas of Buddhist, Jains, Carvakas, Kapalikas and other sects" It is to bring

out the relative merits of each sect in the dialogue from the standpoint of its upholder. In the dialogues we can not fail to notice the subtle irony, and the direction in which the audience is made to advance philosophically. It is not true to say that the sects....had taken hold of the public mind in his days..." These sects are older.....than Buddha.....Tendencies to atheism'.....strong currents of materialism'..... can be traced even from the times of the Vedas.

Since these features were not even from the times of the Vedas. Since these features were not specially the characteristics of his times, the purpose of the author is more in line with the general aims of the....Sanskrit Drama. The aim is not to combat anti-vedism' or to bring a revolution in the philosophical views of the people....', but to educate the people to accepting the religious order, which in those days is also the philosophical and political order. In religion it is Vedanta. In politics it is the king. Provided that this is not disturbed, the sects are allowed to have their existence. Taylor himself affirms that 'anti-Vedic sect did not decline from that time onwards, but existed side by side with pro-vedic sects'.¹⁷

The design of the Drama is educational. The special feature of the play is that it is allegorical. It is, as Macdonell writes, a 'piece with a theologic - Philosophical purport.' It 'aims at glorifying orthodox Brahmanism'.¹⁸ "It is devoted to the defence of Advaita form of Vishnu doctrine", writes Keith.¹⁹ It is in line with the political and religious policy of the kings, favoured toleration. The significant feature brought out by Farquhar is the idea of common action brought about in alliance with other opposition philosophical parties against the more dangerous ones, allegorically represented as those standing for vice, greed etc.... and this common action achieved within the fold of Vedanta. This is the Central theme of the play.

C. SYSTEMS OF PHILOSOPHY

It is time to raise the question of "systems" in Indian philosophy. I am raising it for myself and for the specialists for detailed investigation. Text-books on Indian philosophy have uncritically popularised the conception of "systems of Indian philosophy". We find some critical echoes in Max Muller and Deussen... But they have not been systematically investigated... The allied researches are yet in a stage that do not enable us to pursue further.

We begin with Max Muller. In 1899 he published his famous work 'The six systems of Indian philosophy.' The phrase 'six systems' has become popular in Indian literature. As we have noted already, Max Muller correctly stresses the tolerant atmosphere under which they have existed. He mentions the six traditional ones, namely Samkhya, Yoga, Nyaya, Vaisheshika and Mimamsa, Uttara and Purva. He writes, it will be seven if we include Brihaspatya.²⁰ He is of the opinion that the regular systems slowly "emerged from a floating mass of philosophical and religious opinion".²¹ He writes "We can not be far wrong, therefore, if we assign the gradual formation of the six systems of philosophy to the period from Buddha (5th C.B.C.) to Ashoka (3rd C.B.C.) though, we have to admit, particularly in the cases of Vedanta, Samkhya and Yoga, a long previous development, reaching back through upanishads and Brahmanas to the very hymns of Rigveda."²² This historical evolutionary conception of the development of philosophy is important. S. Chatterjee and B. Datta have ignored this conception in their work. They have described nine systems of Indian philosophy, the six traditional ones and the heterodoxical ones, Charvaka, Buddhist and Jaina. Throughout their work there is no mention of one single date, an epoch or era. The nine systems are treated as though they descended from heavens, in perfected blocks, outside the pale of nature, society and history. These systems have, in their work, no beginnings, growth, decay, death or transitions..... No obligations and duties to historical sense.²³

Weber speaks of Samkhya, Yoga, Mimamsa, Uttara and Purva, karma and Brahma, Nyaya and Vaisheshika. He also speaks of Brihaspatya system.²⁴ Buddhism and Jainism are excluded. The question of dates and the precise developments at particular periods have not been discussed. But they are expounded.

Farquhar and Griswold make an attempt of discussing three systems historically. Buddhism, Jainism and Charvaka systems are excluded. They discuss Karma, Uttara, Sankhya, Yoga, Vaisheshika and Nyaya/systems²⁵ in three historical periods: 200 - 550 A.D; 550-900 A.D; 900-1350 A.D. while they have followed this historical methods, the exact differentiation of these systems in the respective period have not been discussed. But they paved the way for such historical analysis. They have faced the difficulty themselves. Their conclusion also to certain extent prevented them

from following such an analytic method. They write: "There are so many cross references from each to the others that the Scholars are satisfied that all six arose in a single period." "200 A.D. to 550 A.D. would thus seem to be the extremest limits that can be allowed."²⁶ This conclusion is not only unhistorical, as their very attempt to treat the problem historically indicates, but also prevented them from following their intent to the logical end. MaxMuller is more correct in saying that they arose out of a floating mass of religious opinions. But the same difficulty presents us, as discussed in the earlier section, of assigning to the period when they have been actually written.

Dewssen discusses the question of 'systems' in a more methodical way. He writes that by a system we understand a body of ideas emanating from a single centre. In this sense there is no one single system. The upanishads, he believes, are not the work of a single genius, but the total philosophical product of an entire epoch, which extends from 1000 or 800 B.C to 500 B.C²⁷ It is the same with systems of philosophy. Chronological specification is the lagging feature of Indian history.

Some times the words 'system' 'school' and 'sect' are used interchangeably. Sometimes while discussing the system, a distinction is drawn between 'orthodox' and 'heterodox' systems, that is those which uphold the Veda, and those that reject it. Sometimes Brihaspatiya system is included in the orthodox systems, while excluding the Buddhist and Jaina ones. But throughout the philosophical literature the traditional division of the six systems of philosophy is maintained. This is another difficulty.

At about the same time when 'prabodha chandrodaya' was being written we find Arab historians referring to 42 sects in India. It is sometimes said that this may not refer to the actual existence of such a number of sects but to the existence of many and innumerable sects.²⁸

We now come to the text itself. In the text eight systems are mentioned - Vedanta, Nyaya, Samkhya, Mimamsa, Patanjala, Charvaka, Jaina and Baudha. Taylor writes that "the eight sects which have been enumerated may be divided into two classes, those which admit the Vedas and those which reject them. The first class includes the Vedanta, Nyaya, Mimamsa, Patanjala and Samkhya;

The second class embraces the jains, Buddhas and Charvakas.²⁹ The differentiation of Mimamsa into *uttara* and *purva* and the rise of Vaiseshika, out of which Vedanta evolved...through the teachings of Sankara and Ramanuja had not yet taken place at this period.

It is interesting to note that in *Sarvadarsana Samgraha*, a work of the 13th C.A.D., Madhavacharya describes sixteen systems of Philosophy.³⁰ They are enumerated as follows: Charvaka, Baudha, Arhata or Jaina, Ramanuja, Purna Prajna, Nakulisa-Pasupata, Saiva, Pratyakhyana, Raseswara or Mercurial, Vaiseshika or Aulukya, Akshapada or Nyaya, Jaimini system, Paniniya, Sankhya, Patanjali and Vedanta. We note that in between 11th and 14th C.A.D., the systems of philosophy developed by double the number, taking into account the representation of Krishna Misra and Madhavacharya to be correct as 8 and 16 respectively in their times. A history of the development of these systems, which is determination and negation (definition and specification, as Spinoza would say) is yet to be written.

Finally we come to Wilson's account of the religious sects (he uses the word *sects*, but in his account includes schools and systems as currently understood) prevailing in India in 1828. The list is imposing, and shows the quantitative increase in the number of sects, which also corresponds to the increase in the number of castes and sub-castes from the time of *Sarvadarsana Samgraha*. He speaks of six heretical schools of philosophy which dispute the preeminence with their orthodox brethren. He mentions the usual three only, the Buddhist, jaina and Brihaspatya ones. He does not mention the rest.³¹

The investigation into the determination and differentiation of these systems historically, and their connection with social groupings in the society is the central task of the historian of Indian philosophy.

II. MATERIALIST THOUGHT IN 'PRABODHA-CHANDRODAYA'

A. TEXT AND CRITIQUE.

We are not concerned with the general history of Indian philosophy as portrayed in the text, but more specifically with the Materialist thought.

In Act II we get some glimpse of the Materialist doctrines of the day. The allegorical characters, "Passion", "Materialist" and "Pupil" are the spokesman of this doctrine. To "passion" is ascribed the following thought, who says smilingly:

"Uncivilised, ignorant fools, who imagine that spirit is some thing different from body, and reaps the reward of action in a future state; we might as well expect to find excellent fruit drop from trees growing in the air. But assuming the existence of what is the mere creature of their own imagination, they deceive the people. They falsely affirm the existence of that which does not exist. By their frequent disputation they endeavour to bring reproach upon Nastikas who maintain the words of truth. Who has seen the soul existing in a state separate from the body? Does not life result from ultimate configuration of matter? Consider this attentively. They not only deceive themselves, but likewise deceive the world. On what grounds do they establish distinctions among beings formed with bodies possessing the same parts and organs, as a mout etc.? Why do they affirm that this woman belongs to one person, and this to another? These are distinctions which I do not know. Those who enquire whether slaying animals, indulgence at pleasure in the tender passions or taking what belongs to another be lawful or unlawful do not act conformably to the principal end of life, (meditating proudly) The Shastras whose doctrines are obvious to all, and which are founded on the evidence of the senses; which admit only the elements of earth, water, fire, air; which maintain that sustenance and love are the objects of human existence; which assert that matter possesses intelligence; which deny the existence of separate spirits and affirm that death is blessedness - written by Vachaspati, a believer in this system. He delivered it to a Materialist, who taught it to his disciples, and these disciples instructed their followers. Thus it has become widely diffused in the world.³²

This gives in a nutshell the theory of Materialism in India at that time. Its founder and eminent teacher is Vachaspati (Is it Brihaspati?)³³ Passion is identified with this philosophy. It is also known as Nastika, which according to Passion maintains words of truth.

1. The distinction between body and soul (spirit) is not maintained. Soul is not different from matter. By raising the

question, 'who has seen the soul existing in a state separate from the body?' They have the front the evidence of senses as one of the means of knowledge.

2. Life results from ultimate configuration of matter. Taylor cites the stock example from Indian philosophical literature: 'As a red color is produced when beetal nut, beetal leaf and lime are masticated together so life arises from a combination of the elementary particles of matter'. It is remarkable that this bio-chemical view of life from matter was held by the Materialists as this time.
3. The constituents of matter or the elements known to them at this period, are the familiar earth, water, fire and air. Space and time are not admitted as 'elements'.
4. Matter possesses intelligence. Life and sensation arise from matter. Matter is prior to thought.
5. There is no life after death. We reap the consequences of our actions in this our life.

To these scientific conceptions of Materialiam are added the social conception of equality - equality of birth and possession of same physical limbs. Caste system is attacked. Life is to be enjoyed. Its chief objects are love and livelihood. Death is a blessedness. The thought is not without its vulgar conception of materialism - free love. But the social and scientific conceptions predominated. This is an instance of naive 'Materialism' indicating the state of scientific knowledge of the day.

We get a further glimpse of this doctrine through another character "Materialist" (or charvaka). The orthodox call them atheists.³⁴ The Materialist says to one of his pupils:

"My son, you know that Legislation is the only science and that it comprises everything else. The Vedas are a cheat. Behold, if heaven be obtained through the officiating priest, sacrificial rites and the destruction of the substances employed, why is not abundance of excellent fruit obtained from the ashes of the tree which has been burnt up by the fire of forest? If the Victims slain in sacrifice ascend to heaven, why are not parents offered up in sacrifice by their children? If funeral oblations nourish the deceased, why is

not the flame of an extinguished taper renovated by pouring on oil?"³⁵

This passage is different from the previous one, which mostly emphasised the scientific aspects of the theory of Materialism together with social aspects. It is ascribed to Nastikas. This passage emphasises the protestant aspects of social thought, and is ascribed to charavakas? Or are they all the same? However, this is to be noted as stated in the text.

1. Life is guided by rewards and punishments in this life. Law and morals guide our conduct.
2. Law is secular and not divine. Three Vedas are ridiculed.
3. The efficacy of sacrifices is ridiculed. This is done on rational grounds.

The attack on the Vedas, priests and sacrifices is part of the revolt from times immemorial. Discussing the priestly books on ritual in the time of Buddha, Rhys Davids writes that they are unspeakably banal.³⁶ Sylvan Levi also writes, "It is difficult to imagine anything more brutal and more material than the theology of the Brahmanas. Notions, which usage afterwards gradually refined, and clothed with a garb of morality, take us back by their savage realism. Morality finds no place in this system....sacrifice is a mechanical act...."³⁷ Against this theory of sacrifices all materialists including Buddhists and Jains have revolted. We find here a blending of Materialist thought with Protestant (social) thought.

We get further glimpses into such thought through the dialogues. One of the pupils of the Materialists asks him thus:

"Venerable tutor, if to gratify the appetites, the principal end of life, why do these men renounce sensual pleasures, and submit to pain arising from the severest mortifications?"

Materialist: "These fools are deceived by the lying Vedas, and are fed with the allurements of hope. But, can begging, fasting, penance, exposure to the burning heat of the sun, which emaciate the body, be compared to the ravishing embraces of woman with large eyes, whose prominent breasts are compressed within one's arms?"

Pupil: "Do these pilgrims indeed torture themselves in order

to remove happiness which is mingled with this miserable existence?"

Materialist: "You ignorant boy, such are the fooleries of the unenlightened men. They conceive that you ought to throw away the pleasures of life, because they are mixed with pain; but what prudent man will throw away unpecked rice which incloses excellent grain because it is covered with the husk?"³⁸

In this passage the attack on the vedas is continued. Fasts and penances are ridiculed. To them is contraposed the idea of pleasure, even if mixed with pain. This is a protestant thought, blended with a philosophy of hedonism.

"Passion" hails the "Materialist" as his beloved friend, and asks him:

"What exploits have been performed by vice?"

Materialist answers:

"He has caused the most virtuous men to forsake the road commended in the Vedas, and to follow their own inclinations. This achievement, however, belongs neither to vice nor myself; for it was your majesty who inspired us with courage. The people who are doomed to inferior duties and who were created last have renounced the Veda; who then are quiet; mortification and others. Besides, those who read the Vedas do it merely for the sake of subsistence. The teacher Brihaspati has declared that performance of sacrifice, reading the Vedas, penances and rubbing the body with ashes are the means by which ignorant weak men contrive to support themselves. Also, in the cities of the Kurus science and intellect have not appeared even in a dream."

Passion: "By rendering these pilgrimages of no efficacy you have done excellent service."³⁹

In this dialogue the social (protestant) thought is continued. The Brahmanic conception of vice is ridiculed. According to the orthodox, it is vice that prompts people to reject Vedas and pilgrimages. The Materialist denies this allegation. He argues that it is not vice but social inequalities that are the causes for the rejection of the Vedas. Taylor includes the military, the husbandry and the servile classes in the category of those doomed to inferior

duties. The Materialist ridicules also those who study Vedas for the sake of making a living. If the other classes - orthodox ones and those who believe in penances and pilgrimages - do not do so not reject the Vedas, it is to their advantage that they not do so. The Materialist still further argues that even the best cities boast of no men versed in sciences. Hence resort to this form of living in an age of illiteracy and unenlightenment.

In the rest of the play we have some conflicting discussions between Jains and other sects. There are also attacks against the Buddhists and other sects. But they are not to our purpose.

B. AN ESTIMATE OF THE THOUGHT

The thought that emerges from these dialogues is of three trends. The first is a distinctly scientific conception of Materialism. The second is largely social - protestant thought against the orthodox religious conceptions and practices of the day. Fasting, pilgrimaging, penancing, religious begging and rubbing the body with ashes...social distinctions...reading of Vedas, sacrificing and so on. The third refers to a life of pleasure. In one case only the doctrine of free love is mentioned.

But these ideas were by no means mere tendencies. They have compelled the orthodox systems to reconsider these views, and in some cases they have been incorporated by later Hinduism. The opponents have come to regard the heretical views of Nastika, Charvaka and Lokayata...as a system,⁴⁰ and like Buddhism and Jainism are lost to Hinduism.

NOTES

1. "Prabodha Chandrodaya" or the rise of Moon of Intellect. A spiritual drama and Atma Bodha or the knowledge of spirit.
2. Taylor's Introduction : p. 4.
3. H. T. Colebooke : Madras 1871, Vol. II, p. 103.
4. H. H. Wilson : 'A sketch of the religious sects of the Hindus' in Asiatic Researches. Vol. XVI, p. 17.
5. Taylor: Op.cit, p. 4, "It appears that the work could not have been written long before this period. If there be any difference of opinion as to its exact date, it can only be as regards years, not centuries.
6. For Eastern Chalukyas see P. G. Ganguly : The Eastern Chalukyas', Benares 1937. (For territory see pp. 13-14). For Western Chalukyas see historical Introduction in Mysore' by B. L. Rice.
7. A. Weber : The history of Indian Literature'.
8. A. A. Maodonnell : 'A history of Sanskrit literature', p. 366.
9. V. A. Smith: "Early history of India from 600 B.C. to Muhammadan conquest, including the invasion of Alexander the great". Oxford, 1904, p. 314.
10. Farquhar and Griswold: op. cit., p. 221.
11. A. B. Keith : The Sanskrit Drama'. 1924.
12. See C. V. Vaidya : Down fall of Hindu India'. Vol. 3 of the History of Medieval Hindu India, 600 to 1200 A.D. Bombay, 1933. p. 178. He also places Kiriti Varman in 1060-1110 A.D. He refers also to the dated inscription of 1098 A.D. He writes that the play was acted in 1065 A.D.
13. For an account of Candratreyas (candellas) of Jejaka-bhukti (Bundelkhand) see H. C. Ray "The dynastic history of Northern India - early Medieval period". Calcutta, 1936. Vol. II, Ch. 1.
14. J. N. Farquhar : "The religious quest of India," Oxford and H. D. Gris World.
15. Max Muller: "The six systems of Indian philosophy". London, p. 450.
16. Ibid. p. 458.
17. Taylor : op.cit.
18. Macdonell, op.cit; p. 367. The words 'Orthodox Brahmanism', 'Vedanta', 'Pure Advaitism' and used by the various commentators on this text, in the general sense of 'Vedanta' - although each means differently, historically considered.
19. Keith, op.cit, p. 251, for a summary of the whole play see pp. 251-3.
20. Max Muller: The six systems of Indian philosophy' London 1928. p. 449.
21. Ibid. p. 92.
22. Ibid. p. 91.
23. S.Chatterjee and D.Datta: 'An introduction to Indian philosophy'. Calcutta, 1944.
24. Weber, op. cit. p.246.
25. Farquhar and Griswold. op. cit. p. 123.
26. Farquhar and Griswold. op. cit. p. 123.

27. Paul Deussen: 'The philosophy of the Upanishads'. Translated by Rev.A.S.Geden Edinb.
28. C.A.Vaidya: 'History of Medieval Hindu India'. Vol.I Poona, 1921. p. 196.
29. 'Probodha Chandrodaya'. op. cit. Appendix, pp. 99,100.
30. Sarvadarasana Sangraha or Review of the different systems of Hindu Philosophy by Madhavacharya. Translated by E.B.Cowell and A.E.Gough. London, 1914. VII.
31. H.H.Wilson, op. cit. p.4.
32. Probodhachandrodaya: Act II. Taylor's translation - pp. 19-20.
33. Colebrook: Essays. Vol I - p.332.
34. Colebrook: Essays. Vol.I p.402 (For charvacas and Locayaticas). See pp. 402-405 in 'on the philosophy of the Hindus'.
35. Probodhachandrodaya: Act II. Taylors' translation, pp. 20-21.
36. Rhys Davids: 'Buddhist India' p. 240.
37. Sylvan Levi: 'Doctrine du sacrifice chez les Brahmanas.' p. 9.(Paris 1898) - Quoted in Rhys Davids op.cit. pp. 240-41.
38. Probodha Chandrodaya: Taylor's translation - Act II, p.21.
39. Probodha Chandrodaya: Taylor's translation - pp. 22,23.
40. S.Chatterjee and D.Datta, unlike most writers, recognise the contributions of the charvakas. op.cit. p.77. Max Mueller and Weber also recognise the Brihaspatya philosophy as a system and not as a mere tendency, op.cit. p. 246.

6

**Vemana - A Materialist
(1400 A.D.)**

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VEMANA

A. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP

Some say that Vemana was a Prince belonging to the family of the Vema Reddis who ruled in the Krishna, Guntur and Nellore districts for a century¹. Others say that he was an Adwaitic mystic, a Sannyasi (saint) who has renounced the world.² Still others maintain that he could not have been a Sannyasi but a Jain³. Whatever he might be, he could not have been a Sannyasi as his poem on Brahmins attests⁴. His birth place is equally uncertain. Claims have been made for Kondavidu, in the ceded districts, and Katarupalli, a village where his tomb exists. Nor can we fix his date even approximately. Various suggestions have been made, but none on convincing grounds. It is probable that he lived in the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. He is the greatest moral teacher of the Andhras.⁵

His works are written in Andhra. The language called "Andhra Bhasa" by Sanskrit writers is Telugu. It is spoken by 24 millions. It is the chief language in Eastern India, extending from Madras northwards to near Orissa. It is also spoken in the east of the State of Hyderabad and in the extreme south of the central province reaching southwards into Berar. It has an extensive literature written in a script of its own⁶. Vemana even to day is very popular with the Andhras.

B. MATERIALIST THOUGHT

Vemana was a popular poet. He attacked the orthodoxy of the day in a style intelligible to the masses. His "Sataka", a book of gnomic verses contains an attack on the caste system.

"If we look through all the earth,
Men, we see, have equal birth;
Made in one great brotherhood,
Equal in the sight of God.

Food or caste or place of birth
cannot alter human worth.

Why let caste be so supreme?
Tis but folly's passing stream

Empty is a caste—dispute:
All the castes have but one root.
Who on earth can 'eer decide
Whom to praise and whom deride?

Why should we the Pariah (untouchable) screen,
When his flesh and blood were born
Like to ours? what caste is He
Who doth dwell in all we see"⁷

In his poem on "observance of Ritual"⁸ he ridicules many Brahmanic ideas.

To pray and serve yet not be pure..... can never turn to good. Our sins grown ever from our deeds. It is better to see our needs than look to works for grace. A sinful man cannot obtain the things that Kasi⁹ gives. Though hypocrites should meditate they never attain the holy state. Sanctity is not where holy streams unite. God looks not on our race or dress. What fools the pilgrims are who think that God may not be found at home. With eager mind, they see Sathu, Prayaghi, Kasi, Madura and Kanchi.¹⁰ What can all these do? It is naught but walking far. To feed the hungry and the poor is nobler deed than sacrifice. Some mortify their flesh and take the name of saints; yet cannot cleanse their hearts.....The sacrifice, fools lift up, is never perfect; brings no profit."

In this poem Vemana attacks the inefficacy of prayers that are unaccompanied by right conduct, the futility of pilgrimages, the distinctions of race and dress and the emptiness of ceremonial sacrifices.

In his poem on "Ritual not Religion"¹¹ he attacks orthodoxy still further:

"Benares¹² will not make a pig as great as an elephant. A vile sinner will not be made into a saint by reading Vedas. Happiness is not outside. It is within you."

To live in the forest, to stand perfectly still in deep meditation, to chant in a loud monotone the name of the deity, and to take

every opportunity of ceremonial bathing—are the marks of an orthodox saint. The poet writes that some animals can excel these external characteristics. The crane stands still. The ass brays. The frog bathes often. What is the difference between saints and these animals? It does not require a saint for these exercises. He says:

“You smear your face and arms with ash.
Hang silver idols round your neck.
All this may help to smell your cash
But in the coming world will wreck.”

Here vernana attacks the Brahmanic emphasis upon external ceremonies unaccompanied by “internal conduct.” Reading of the Vedas, Sastras, and smearing of the body with ashes—these do not make a saint.

In his poem on “Idolatry”¹³ he ridicules the worship of stones:

“Why bow and fall before the idol one? The stone will not be changed. But know That God dwells in the soul. Why then Adore a stone?”

He ridicules fasting and those who take voluntarily to poverty, he attacks “bull-worshippers”. He says:

“The living useful bull¹⁴ you starve and beat— But when it is carved in stone¹⁵ you it adore how gross such sinful folly is’.
Abhor So clear a cheat.”

He also ridicules the idea of gifts to these stone-idols.

“Why pile your gifts in temples made of stone? Can gods who, in and out, are rock alone Ever taste a part?

In his opem on “Death”¹⁶ he attacks the idea of transmigration.

“Before the spirit goes, it is right—
To use all means to keep alight
The vital flame. But when away,
What use to try its flight to May?”

“For naked every man was born,
And naked must he die....”

"If iron break it needs repair,
The smith can weld again as fair.
But if the spirit break and fail,
Who then can it restore or heal?

However long we live or learn,
However great the fame we earn,
We live at best but one short day—
With all our skill we turn to clay.

The brutish man counts as his own
The wealth of all his house. Alone
He buries it¹⁷ Yet when he dies,
Not even a piece with him lies.

Not one can help us when we die.

Our body, like an earthen bowl
will surely die—
While health is good they live in lust;
When death draws near to penance trust."

In this way, he ridicules the idea of transmigration of souls. Yet he believes in soul. He thinks that the soul goes to the divine after the death of the body. That is all.

His poem on "Brahmins"¹⁸ is more interesting.

"They who were Sudras¹⁹ born,
And yet revile their kin;-
Who call themselves twice-born
And think it makes safe;—
whose hearts love darling sin;-
The lowest Sudars are.²⁰

Uper: his brazen brow²¹
He bears a sacred mark
He has a wolfish mouth
A demon's shameless heart;
And yet he dares to say
He knows the only God.

He has an outcaste's heart²²
 And yet the outcaste scorn,
 shall he become twice-born,
 Renewed in life and caste,
 while no good thought exists
 Within his sinful mind?"

"The greatest sin of all
 is want of sterling truth
 But lie upon a lie
 Is always in his mouth,
 What rogues some Brahmin are—
 They call themselves twice-born.'

They say, the lords of earth,
 'How pure we are, how learned
 In all the Sastras (Sciences) teach.'
 They scorn us simple men
 But yet the poorest poor
 Are better than such brags.

The Brahmin thinks that when
 He takes the sacred thread
 His Sudraship is over.
 How strangely he forgets
 That when he comes to due
 His Brahmanship is over²³

And then he takes²⁴ the dress
 Of Somayaji state
 And why? He has killed a goat,
 Then cooked and ate it up,
 He has the Brahman's name,
 But where is the good result.

They paint themselves with ash,
 But this takes not away
 The smell of drafts of wine.
 With strinkgs around their neck
 Convert such sinful men,
 And render them twice-born?

If he should even forget

That he is flesh and blood,
 And be so basely proud
 That he is called twice-born,
 Will fear seize death and hell?
 Will they forsake their prey?

You foul your skin with ash:
 What good will that do you?

Your thoughts should soar above:

Be set on God alone.
 An ass can roll in mud
 As well as any priest.

"Baldhead and matted locks.
 Strange dress and mantras (spells) loud.
 Outlandish cramps and pains
 And all the ashy filth.
 Ah! Bah! No man is good
 Who is not pure in heart.

He leaves his house and wife
 With iron bends his loins
 Prefers bad food to good.
 And bitter drink to sweet.
 Will living like a beast
 Secure him endless bliss?

Vemana has the same breezy style of Krishna Misra and Carvakas in his denunciation of the Brahmins of his day. Every aspect of Brahmin pretensions is exposed in this poem.

C. CONCLUSIONS

It is very unfortunate that we have not enough historical date which enables us to evaluate Vemana and his work. The story of this part of India at this time is little known. We have no accounts of the ideological currents of the day. Consequently we are at a loss to know in what relation Vemana stands to the contemporary thinkers of the day. The social composition of the writer also is unknown. Whoever he may be, his protests against the contradictions of the day throw light on the new current of thought at that time. This kind of protest was not new. This was done over and over

again in almost the same language by previous thinkers. What is new is that this protest was made at this time in this part of India.

Vemana also differs from most of the previous thinkers in another respect. The Carvaks, and the "Materialist" in Probodhachandrodaya stress 'Sensualist' ideas in their attack on the orthodoxy of their days. Vemana did not resort either to 'materialism' or 'sensualism' but to pure utility. He attacked the evils of the day purely from a utilitarian point of view. His protest is of the same nature as that of the Buddhists, temperate and dignified.

Vemana is more of a reformer. He did not deny God. He did not deny the Soul. All that he denied was the inefficacy of prayers, of pilgrimages, of sacrifices, of external ceremonies, of idolatry and other profitable devices of the Brahmins. By such denial he undermined the economic foundations of Brahmanism.

It is very difficult to say how far Vemana influenced the people of his day to his line of thinking. He did not leave a movement like Buddha. His protest is at the most an individual protest. It has left no marked influence inspite of his popularity. His lone voice was drowned in the sea of orthodoxy.

NOTES

1. J.N. Farguhar "An Outline of the Religious Literature of India" 1920. pp 346-7 For a bibliography see Ibid p 383.
2. P. Chenchaiiah and M.B.Rao "A History of Telugu Literature" p.99. See C.E.Gover "Folk Songs of Southern India" 1872 p 265-268
3. Gover opcit pp 288-9
4. Gover opcit p 289
5. Chenchaiiah Rao opcit p 99
6. A.A. Macdonell "India's Past" pp 214-5
7. Gover opcit p 275; See also V.A. Smith "The Oxford History of India" 2nd Edition 1923 pp 40-1
8. Gover opcit pp 269-270
9. Modern Benares-a place of pilgrimage
10. Places of pilgrimage.
11. Gover opcit pp 271-2.
12. Benaras, considered to be a holy place.
13. Gover opcit pp 273-4.
14. This is a reference to the cruel treatment of bullocks in India which are used for agricultural purposes.
15. This is also reference to images of bulls in India, generally worshiped by followers of Siva.
16. Gover opcit pp 276-7.
17. Reference to loarding of money.
18. Gover opcit pp 286-289.
19. Sudras, 4th caste.
20. The second birth of the Brahmin does not take place until the 13th year, when the Sacred thread is first placed on his shoulders. Upto that period he is once-born, that is, a Sudra. Vemana frequently refers to this fact and taunts the Brahmins with having Sudras themselves.
21. It is imperative on the twice-born to carry on their foreheads the mark of their God. The vaishnavas wear tri-dent, a centre prong of which is continued just on to the bridge of the nose. The Saiva mark is a colored spot just above the nose. In addition to this the Saiva devotee should make three horizontal parallel lines with sandal-wood ash, extending from one temple to the other. A Zealous worshipper of either Vishnu or Siva will carry the marks on his breast, arms and back. Nowadays all the four caste people wear these marks.
22. Till the ceremony of the putting on of the thread, the postulant is not a Brahman. He is not a member of any other caste and is, therefore, an out-caste.
23. He cannot take his thread with him—his new birth has failed him, for the dead are ceremonially unclean. If, therefore, he is not born a Brahmin and cannot continue holy at death, what good is Brahmanship at all?
24. This trenchant verse refers to the Yajna Sacrifice. At this ceremony a goat is roasted and every Brahmin who assists in the rite is obliged to eat of the flesh.



Dr. K.B. Krishna (1906-1948) was born in Intur, near Nidubrolu of Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh. He was educated at London School of Economics and Political Science and at Harvard University, U.S.A. He was awarded Ph.D. for his thesis on 'The Problem of Minorities or Communal Representation in India' in 1937. A prominent Marxist scholar and one of the pioneers who applied Marx's method as a tool of analysis to study the distinct and contradictory trends in Indian society. It is astounding to note the breadth of his knowledge and the range of subjects that he had dealt with includes Indian History, Philosophy, Economics, Politics and studies on Imperialism, Revolutions and National liberation movements.

Dr. Krishna "a brilliant scholar, committed to social advancement, a valiant fighter against imperialism and a steadfast champion of the working class" died in 1948 after languishing in the then British jails.

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